

File-Serial Charge Out

FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

48-16-63475-1 GPO

File 100-153735 Date 7/20/65

Class. Case No. Last Serial

Pending Closed

Serial No. Description of Serial Date Charged

166B Serial sent to Bureau, per
1659 Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,
titled; Bernard S. Lee v.
Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.
BuFile 62-117194d

Section #23

Employee

RECHARGE

Date

To From

Initials of Clerk

Date

Date Charged

Employee

Location

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

7/21/65

SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

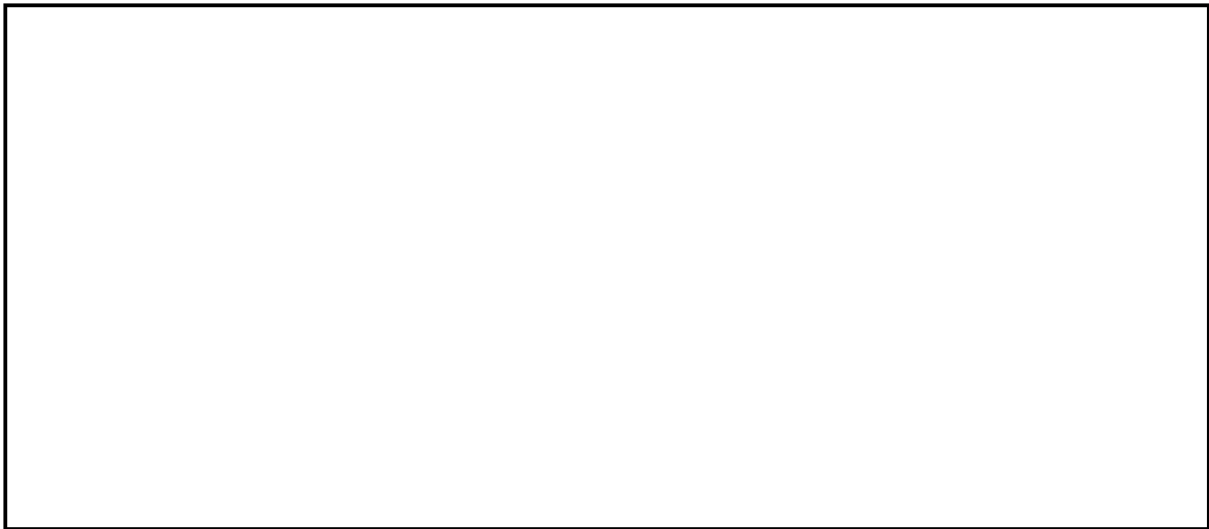
CIRM

ReNYlet to Bureau, 6/25/65.

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b7D

On 7/9/65, [redacted]

[redacted], NYC, made available to SA JOHN C. SEATON [redacted] concerning the Gandhi Society for Human Rights. If this information is incorporated in a report, [redacted]'s name should be concealed, and he should be described as one who was in a position to furnish reliable information. The [redacted] will not be made public without the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum.



b7D

Searched _____
Serialized _____
Indexed _____
Filed _____

2-Bureau (RM)
1-New York (42)

JCS:bob
(3)

100-153735-1661

SAC, Atlanta (100-5713)

7/21/65

Director, FBI (100-433794)

COMINFIL
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC)
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re Atlanta airtel and LHM 7/13/65. copies to New York, which reported that one [redacted], who is said to be connected with civil rights activities in New York City, had offered to furnish the experiences of her organization (unidentified) to the SCLC. It was indicated that according to an SCLC official, the SCLC would be better prepared to "move into" New York City without making too many mistakes.

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It was also reported that James Bevel told Randolph Blackwell, a fellow official of the SCLC, that he, Bevel, is seeking psychiatric assistance at Chicago, Illinois, and plans to see his doctor in the near future. Blackwell instructed Bevel to obtain whatever assistance he required and that he, Blackwell, would see that an adequate excuse is made to cover Bevel's absence from the SCLC activities.

On the basis of information furnished, [redacted] is unidentifiable in Bufiles. New York should advise the Bureau and Atlanta of information available identifying this individual, the organization which she is connected with, and, particularly, of any subversive information concerning her.

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The fact that an SCLC official is now in need of psychiatric assistance must be explored for further details through established reliable sources. Recipient offices should be most alert to further information on this matter. Any inquiries necessary must be most discreet and such as may not prove embarrassing to the Bureau. Keep the Bureau promptly advised of pertinent developments and information which may be disseminated should be included in LHMs.

- 2 - Chicago
- 2 - New York (100-149194)

1-Xerox M.L.KING
100-136535

1-Xerox CIRM
100-153735

Wm

200
attach.
7/21/65

100-153735-1662

~~100-749194~~

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUL 22 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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b7c

File-Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

48-16-33475-1 GPO

File 100 153735 Date 7/22/65
Class. Case No. Last Serial

Pending Closed

Serial No. Description of Serial Date Charged

1663 Serial sent to Bureau, per 5/5/77
1664 Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,
1665 titled; Bernard S. Lee v.
Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.

BuFile 62-117194d

Section #23

Employee

RECHARGE

Date

To

From

Initials of Clerk

Date

Date Charged

Employee

Location

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
July 21, 1965

Bureau 97-4575

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12-29-2011

Re: John Henrik Clarke
Security Matter - C

A confidential source recently furnished the following information:

On June 4, 1965, John Henrik Clarke, as Associate Editor of "Freedomways" magazine, contacted Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett, 1360 Turk Street, San Francisco, California, and stated that he was pleased to know that Goodlett had obtained "an all-expense invitation" for him to attend the World Congress of Peace, National Independence and General Disarmament, in Helsinki, Finland, July 10-17, 1965. Clarke said he would be able to attend the Helsinki meeting but because he had to be back in New York on July 21, probably would not be able to make the tour of the Soviet Union as a guest of the Soviet Peace Committee.

Clarke noted that as Director of the Heritage Program at Haryou-Act, he has a staff of new teachers working under him who would be able to do some of his work. He added that on the 21st of July, he had to meet with the Board of Directors of the agency and evaluate the entire Summer Teaching Program.

Clarke also mentioned that if a meeting in Accra, Ghana, materialized for December, he would be pleased to go, and, in both cases, would appreciate knowing from Goodlett what is expected of him.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group I~~

100-153735-1666

~~Searched~~
~~Serialized~~
~~Indexed~~
~~Filed~~
~~Excluded from automatic~~
~~downgrading and~~
~~declassification~~

Re: John Henrik Clarke
Security Matter - C

A characterization of Freedomways Associates, Inc., publisher of the magazine "Freedomways", is set forth in the appendix pages.

John Clarke

On August 14, 1964, a confidential source made available information reflecting that John Clarke of "Freedomways" was an "associate" of the American Institute of Marxist Studies (AIMS).

A characterization of AIMS is set forth in the appendix pages.

Haryou-Act is a combination of Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited and Associated Community Teams. It is an organization set up to secure better employment and other opportunities for Harlem youth as well as community development.

Carlton B. Goodlett

"The Sun Reporter", a weekly newspaper appealing to the Negro population in the San Francisco Bay Area, in its issue of July 28, 1962, set forth that Carlton Goodlett was the Chairman of the American delegation that attended the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace, sponsored by the World Congress of Peace, held in Moscow, from July 9 to 14, 1962.

A characterization of the World Council of Peace is set forth in the appendix pages.

A confidential source advised on January 24, 1947, that on January 15, 1947, Dr. Carlton Goodlett had been discussed at a meeting of the Dewey Davis Branch of the Professional Section of the San Francisco County Communist

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: John Henrik Clarke
Security Matter - C

Party (CP) held in San Francisco. The discussion ended with the conclusion that even though Goodlett did not attend many meetings of this branch, he would continue on the roles of the CP because of the amount of work he did on the outside.

A confidential source advised that Carlton Goodlett, on February 5, 1965, disclosed that he is the only American who attends the World Council of Peace Presidential Committee meetings and further that he attends every meeting.

"The New York Times", July 11, 1965, page 9, columns 1-3, in an article datelined at Helsinki, July 10, 1965, stated that the World Congress for Peace began that day. It stated that the biggest contingent came from the United States and that the group's Chairman was Dr. Carlton Goodlett of San Francisco, Chairman of the Committee for International Peace Action.

On June 16, 1965, Clarke advised Professor J. D. Bernal, F.R.S., Chairman, Preparatory Committee, World Congress for Peace, National Independence and General Disarmament, Luotsikatu, Helsinki, Finland, that he would accept his invitation to attend the Congress. He asked that he be informed of the nature of his participation in the Congress.

On June 23, 1965, Clarke again contacted Professor J. D. Bernal and advised him that he had picked up from Air India's New York Office, the prepaid ticket from New York to London, payment having been made by the Vienna Office. He said he would leave New York via Air India flight Number 106y, at 8:30 PM, on July 7, 1965, arriving in London the following morning. He asked that he be informed who to contact in London in order to arrange transportation to Helsinki.

- 3 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: John Henrik Clarke
Security Matter - C

1.

APPENDIX

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the World Peace Council:

"World Peace Council

- "1. Cited as having been formed at the conclusion of the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw and which was heralded by the Moscow radio as 'the expression of the determination of the peoples to take into their own hands the struggle for peace.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 378 on the Communist 'Peace' Offensive, April 25, 1951, originally released April 1, 1951, p. 38.)"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: John Henrik Clarke
Security Matter - C

1.

APPENDIX

AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR MARXIST STUDIES

A source advised on April 9, 1963, that on April 7, 1963, at a meeting of the District Committee of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA) of New England, held in Boston, Massachusetts, HERBERT APTHEKER stated he was developing an organization called American Institute For Marxist Studies (AIMS), which would eventually legalize the CP. He stated AIMS would publish literature on History, Science, Physics, Archeology and other subjects which would be put out quarterly with various supplements.

A second source advised in December, 1959, that HERBERT APTHEKER was elected to the National Committee, CP, USA, at the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA, held in December, 1959.

A third source advised on June 7, 1963, that on June 3, 1963, HERBERT APTHEKER spoke at the CP, USA, New York District Board meeting concerning AIMS. APTHEKER stated that AIMS would unite and strengthen the CP although the CP would not be connected with it. He stated AIMS was being formed to operate within the scope of the MC CARRAN and SMITH Acts and would legally bring Marxist material and opinions to the attention of American scholars and the general public.

A fourth source advised on May 15, 1964, that, as of that date, AIMS was located on the fifth floor west at 20 East 30th Street, New York City, New York.

- 4 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re: John Henrik Clarke
Security Matter - C

1.

APPENDIX

FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INCORPORATED

The records of the New York Secretary of State, Albany, New York, show that the certificate of incorporation of Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, was filed on March 2, 1961.

The Spring, 1964, issue of "Freedomways" is self-described as "A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement" published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York City.

On May 24, 1961, a source advised that a report was given on "Freedomways" at a meeting of the National Board, Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), held on May 24, 1961. It was stated that the original plan called for the publication to be openly Marxist, but that it was later decided it would not be avowedly a Marxist publication. Editorials are in the hands of a mixed group of Marxists and non-Marxists. It was stated that the central purpose of "Freedomways" is to develop a theory and positive criticism of currents in the Negro movement, as well as to raise the level of understanding and discussion taking place in Negro life today and to project a socialist and pro-Soviet orientation.

On May 25, 1961, another source advised that "Freedomways" was set up for the CPUSA by JAMES JACKSON, a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

- 5 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
July 21, 1965

Bureau 97-4575

Title John Henrik Clarke

Character Security Matter - *e*

Reference New York letterhead memorandum,
dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

F B I

Date: 7/21/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (97-4575)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (97-2204)

SUBJECT: JOHN HENRIK CLARKE
SM-C
(OO: NY)

There are enclosed for the Bureau nine copies of a letterhead memorandum based upon information furnished by NY 3246-S* on 7/13/65, showing that JOHN HENRIK CLARKE, the Associate Editor of "Freedomways" magazine, and Dr. CARLTON B. GOODLETT of San Francisco, California, were to attend the World Congress of Peace in Helsinki, Finland, 7/10-17/65.

On 7/8/65, NY 694-S* advised that, on that date, the CPUSA sent to the Soviets a list of individuals scheduled to attend the World Congress of Peace at Helsinki, Finland, 7/10-17/65. In addition, the Soviets were also advised that the publication "Freedomways" was expected to send observers. NY 694-S* was not able to obtain the names of these observers.

THIS INFORMATION FURNISHED BY NY 694-S* IS NOT TO BE INCLUDED, EVEN IN PARAPHRASED FORM, IN THE INVESTIGATIVE SECTION OF A REPORT, UNLESS OBTAINED FROM A SOURCE OTHER THAN NY 694-S*.

- 3 - Bureau (97-4575) (Encls. 9) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (Encls. 2) (Info) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-) (CARLTON GOODLETT)
- 1 - New York (100-144189) (FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-154048) (COMINFIL HARYOU-ACT)
- ① - New York (100-153735) (CIRM) (42)
- 1 - New York (97-2204) (42)

JFO:gmd
(10)

100-153735/667

SEARCHED _____	INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____	FILED _____
FBI - NEW YORK	

Stanton D. J.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

NY 97-2204

The source used to characterize JOHN HENRIK CLARKE is NY 4535-S*. The sources used to characterize CARLTON GOODLETT are and SF 1050-S*. b7D

This LHM is classified "~~Confidential~~" because it contains information from the sources used, the unauthorized disclosure of which could be detrimental to the defense interests of the United States and result in the loss of sources of great value.

DATE: 7/22/65

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Date received <u>7/1/65</u>	Received from (name or symbol number) <u>[redacted] (Reliable-Conceal)</u>	Received by SA <u>[redacted]</u>
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person by telephone by mail orally recording device written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated by Informant _____

Date of Report

6/29/65

Date(s) of activity

Brief description of activity or material

Police Officers demonstration against Civilian Review Board, City Hall, NYC, 6/29/65.

6/29/65

File where original is located if not attached

[redacted]

b7D

Remarks:

- 1 - [redacted] (INV) (42)
- 1 - 157-892 (RACIAL SITUATION, NYC) (42)
- 1 - 157-1223 (CORE) (42)
- 1 - 100-95014 (GILBERTO GERENA VALENTIN) (44)
- 1 - 100- (JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY) (43)
- 1 - 100-153735 (CIRM) (42)

b7D

VJA:rmp
(6)

Block Stamp

100-153735-1668

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUL 22 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signatures and initials over stamp]

#42

"Off Duty Police Officers Demonstration Against Civilian Review Board"

City Hall Park -- June 29th 1965

The demonstration began promptly at 10:00 A.M. It was highly organized by P.B.A. members wearing arm-bands and with the full cooperation of uniformed police officers. The men marched in silence with placards calling for the rejection of the civilian review board. Some called for the cooperation of the people, asking them to support the police dept.

The numbers of demonstrators continued to increase and reached its peak of about 6000 about 11:30 A.M. There were a number of women in the line of march; some were the wives accompanied by their children. Some children carried placards.

The head of the P.B.A. [redacted] was interviewed by the TV stations on the scene. He answered the questions with lengthy statements denouncing those calling for the Civilian Review Board. When asked about minority groups who were calling for the Review Board, he said that these people can't be satisfied, and all they wanted was a review board with all Negro and Puerto Ricans on it. He cited the fact that the police in Harlem helped sick people and treated them fairly etc. etc.

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In a very small area on the other side of the park CORE, THE COMMUNITY CHURCH of N.Y. C. and a few others marched between police barricades, heavily guarded by police. Their number, at its peak, never reached fifty people in line of march. Gilberto Valentin acted as the spokesman for the group and in a statement to the press said that it was a shame that the John Birch Society was allowed to use the police department to foster their ideas. Mr. Valentin also confirmed the fact that he was a candidate for Councilman at Large in the coming election. He said that he had been designated and his campaign was located at 173 West 72 street.

There was no disturbance or hostility on this side of the park even though some of the police leaving their demonstration hurled uncomplimentary remarks at the group. Some on-lookers also indulged in the usual name calling.

Shortly after 11:00 A.M. bus loads of police from Newark, N.J. arrived and joined the line of march. They left shortly before 1:00 P.M.

There were a number of outburst in the police line of demonstrators. They abused some people who were distributing leaflets and indulged in name calling etc. They chanted remarks against James Farmer, calling him Farmer the Fink...

As we mingled with the crowds we could over-hear remarks about 'niggers' and 'rat-packs' and other slurs against minority groups. Some of the police officers soliciting signatures in support of their protest against the civilian review board were quite outspoken in regard to their attitude and feelings against Negroes and other minority groups. They used this in urging a number of people to sign their petitions. They talked openly in an uncomplimentary manner about Harlem and other areas where minority groups live.

Many of them carried signs supporting BUCKLEY for Mayor. Some left the line of march and took leaflets from the hands of some young men distributing them and threw them on the ground. This happened on the corner of Chambers Street & Broadway about 12:30

About 1:00 P.M. the rumor was circulated that the demonstration would end at about 2:00 P.M. even though it had been set to go until 3:00 P.M.

The JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY had a literature stand set up on the sidewalk and sold literature and solicited membership. I left the scene shortly after 1:00 P.M.

File-Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

049-16-82475-1 GPO

File 100 15375 Date 7/22/65
Class. Case No. Last Serial

Pending Closed

Serial No. Description of Serial Date Charged

1670 Serial sent to Bureau, per
Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,
titled; Bernard S. Lee v.
Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.
BuFile 62-117194d

Section #23

Employee

RECHARGE

Date

To From

Initials of Clerk

Date

Date Charged

Employee

Location

XERO COPY

XERO COPY

XERO COPY

XERO COPY

F B I

Date: 7/23/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via Airtel _____
(Priority)

To: SACs, New York (100-149194)
Atlanta (100-5718)

From: Director, FBI (100-438794)

COMINFIL
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE (SCLC)
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ReATAirtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM) 7/19/65, copies to New York, which reported information to the effect that an unidentified woman had donated \$25,000 to the SCLC. The check written by the woman in this amount came through the Seed Cliff (phonetic) Methodist Church on Long Island, New York. It is alleged that this woman has donated appreciable amounts to the SCLC in the past and intends to donate \$25,000 each year.

It is highly important that the identity of this donor be established and determination made as to whether or not she has any subversive background or connections.

New York is instructed to immediately initiate a discreet, yet searching inquiry, to establish the woman's identity and background.

Note

New York and Atlanta should be alert to information available through established sources which would help in this matter.

Note particularly that it was Stanley Levison who suggested that the SCLC President, Martin Luther King, Jr., telephone thanks to the woman. Any possible connection between this woman and Levison should also be established.

1-Xerox 100-153735 (C.I.)
1-Xerox 100-136585 (M.L. King)
5212 7/24

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SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

100-153735

1671

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

Airtel to SACs, New York
Atlanta

Re: COMINFIL
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP
CONFERENCE (SCLC)
100-438794

For the future guidance of Atlanta, it is suggested that in the future should a similar situation develop wherein an individual donates an extraordinarily large sum of money to the SCLC leads should promptly be set out by Atlanta, origin, to identify the donor.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO: SAC (100-91911)

DATE: 7/23/65

FROM: SA [redacted] (#42)

b6
b7c

SUBJECT: JESSE WILLIARD GRAY
SM - C

NY 4596-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information on the dates indicated. Information furnished by this source should be carefully paraphrased when used in any communication which will be disseminated outside the Bureau so that this confidential technique may not be compromised.

- 1 - 100-153735 (CIRM)(42)
- 1 - 100- (LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS)(41)
- 1 - 100-15448 ([redacted])(47)
- 1 - 100-152081 (COMMUNITY COUNCIL ON HOUSING)(41)
- 1 - 100-153732 ([redacted])(45)
- 1 - 157-892 (RACIAL SITUATION, NY DIVISION)(42)
- 1 - 100-110680 ([redacted])(45)
- 1 - 157-1223 (CORE)(42)
- 1 - 100-103904 ([redacted])(45)
- 1 - 100-146553 ([redacted])(43)
- 1 - 157-1469 (ORGANIZATION FOR BLACK POWER)(42)
- 1 - 100- ([redacted] LNU, FEMALE, [redacted] NYC)(43)

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VJA:cag
(13)

100-153735-1672

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JUL 26 1965 FBI - NEW YORK	

See file

#42

NY 100-91911

7/2/65

JESSE GRAY contacted [redacted] and told her that he would be going pretty soon.

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[redacted] (LNU) (Female) contacted the League of Women Voters and said that she lives at [redacted], NYC. She inquired if she was in the 31st Senatorial District.

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7/3/65

[redacted], JESSE GRAY's [redacted], contacted [redacted] (LNU) and asked her to come for dinner that day. [redacted] said she knows JESSE GRAY is "shacking up" in Chicago with [redacted] and she wanted to talk to [redacted] about it.

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7/5/65

[redacted] attempted to contact [redacted] (LNU) at [redacted]. [redacted] was not in.

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[redacted] (PH) from Bronx CORE informed [redacted] that Bronx CORE was having a rally on Saturday night, July 10, 1965, at 169th Street and Boston Post Road, Bronx, NY. He wanted JESSE GRAY to speak at this rally against police brutality. JESSE GRAY was not in.

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[redacted] (LNU) contacted [redacted] at the Community Council on Housing (CCH). [redacted] stated that the petitions are not out yet but he expected them to be ready on 7/6/65. [redacted] stated that for the past three days he has been in the office of CCH taking the voter registration list and typing it out on sheets of paper broken down according to addresses. He could not get any typists so he had to do the job himself.

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NY 100-91911

[redacted] contacted [redacted] and gave his home residence as [redacted], Brooklyn, NY. [redacted] stated he is running for State Senator. He said [redacted] chances of winning are good because none of his opponents have his militancy and background of fighting. [redacted] asked [redacted] to help him get into the State Senate. He said the main thing is the solicitation of signatures for petitions. The campaign right now is to get on the ballot. The August campaign will be a campaign of registration. [redacted] is running in the Democratic Primary. [redacted] says that it might be worthwhile getting involved because it's a short term thing.

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[redacted] said that we can use help any time and the main thing right now is that JESSE GRAY needs 5,000 signatures; [redacted] needs 750 signatures. [redacted] says, "I'm going to see what we can or can't do".

b6
b7C

7/6/65

[redacted] at [redacted] asked for [redacted] who was not in. NY Telephone Co. records reflect this phone is listed to [redacted], NYC; [redacted] [redacted] and Cosmos Progressive Association.

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[redacted] contacted his [redacted], [redacted] [redacted] told [redacted] that he is running for State Senator and needs [redacted]'s help. [redacted] is forming a "committee of 200" who will contribute \$10.00 a month towards his campaign expenses. [redacted] said he is opening his office at 55 Convent Avenue.

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[redacted] (PH) from [redacted] (PH) attempted to reach [redacted] who was not in.

b6
b7C

NY 100-91911

7/11/65

[redacted] contacted an unidentified man at [redacted]. This individual told [redacted] to go to VIRGINIA and FRED's, 264 Tenth Avenue, near 25th Street, NYC. [redacted] said he would be there.

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[redacted] at [redacted] (he said he was from Cappa Alpha Chi) contacted [redacted] and asked for JESSE who was not in.

b6
b7C

[redacted] [redacted] contacted an unknown female at [redacted] and asked if she had the list of contributors during the period of the rent strike. The woman asked if he meant [redacted]. [redacted] said yes. The woman said she does have the list but does not have it handy, however, it would be available.

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7/12/65

[redacted] contacted [redacted] at CCH. She asked if the "tramp and prostitute were back yet". She referred to [redacted] and JESSE. She also asked [redacted] to tell JESSE GRAY to put some money in an envelope and send it for the children.

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[redacted] telephone [redacted], [redacted] left word for JESSE GRAY to call him.

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7/23
JFM

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SAC, JACKSON

10/

SAC, NEW YORK

NATIONALITIES CLUB, NEW YORK COUNTY CP
IS-C

b7D

Identity of Source: [redacted], who has furnished reliable info in past (Conceal).

Description of Info: Meeting of Nationalities Club, NYCCP, 6/24/65.

Date Received: 6/29/65

Original Located: [redacted]

b7D

A copy of informant's report follows:

- 1 - Jackson (100- [redacted]) (RM)
- 1 - New York ([redacted] (Inv.)) ([redacted]) (45)
- 1 - New York (100-26503-C1874) (UPPER EAST SIDE SECTION, NYCCP) (45)
- 1 - New York (100-26503-C42) (NYCCP) (45)
- 1 - New York (100-123817) (CP, NYD MEMBERSHIP) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-102837) ([redacted]) (45)
- 1 - New York (100-66715) ([redacted]) (45)
- 1 - New York (100- 0565) ([redacted]) (45)
- 1 - New York (100-102887) ([redacted]) (45)
- 1 - New York (100-114 56) ([redacted]) (45)
- 1 - New York (100-132599) ([redacted]) (45)
- 1 - New York (105-8777) ([redacted]) (45)
- 1 - New York (100-250 7) ([redacted]) (45)
- 1 - New York (100-145032) (CCCL) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-3620) (ACPFB) (41)
- 1 - New York (100-153735) (CLM) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-26503-C18 7) (45)

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JFM:tml
(17)

100-153735-1673

[Handwritten signature]

June 29, 1965

On the evening of June 24, 1965, a meeting of the Nationalities Club, Upper East Side Section, Communist Party, was held at the home of [redacted], [redacted], New York, N.Y.

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Present were [redacted], who acted as [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], and [redacted].

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Ticket returns were made for the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties rally and the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born picnic. [redacted] urged all members of the club to attend the speech by [redacted] the following night on the Mississippi voters registration drive.

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

M E M O R A N D U M

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 7/23/65

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: CP, USA
ORGANIZATION
IS - C

CINAL

Attached hereto for the Bureau are four copies and attached to each copy of this letter one copy of an informant's statement concerning sessions of a meeting of the National Board of the CP, USA held on 7/17-18/65.

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This information was furnished by [redacted], who has furnished reliable information in the past on 7/19-20/65 to SA [redacted].

The original informant report is maintained in Chicago file A) [redacted].

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EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND DISSEMINATION OF THE INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM THIS HIGH PLACED INFORMANT.

- 4 - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)
(1 - 100-) (CINAL)
- 3 - Baltimore (Encl. 3) (RM)
(1 - 100-) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)
(1 - 100-) (GEORGE MEYERS)
(1 - 100-) (SDS)
- 1 - Boston (Encl. 1) (RM)
(1 - 100-) (CP, USA - EDUCATION)

PHK/vmm

(95)

Copies continued on ii page.

100-153735-1674

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 (1 - 100-) (PHIL BART)
 (1 - 100-) (CP, USA - EDUCATION)
 (1 - 100-) (CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS)
 (1 - 100-) (W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA)
 (1 - 100-) (CIRM)

3 - Detroit (Encl. 3) (RM) b6
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 (1 - 100-) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)
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 (1 - 100-) (CP, USA - EDUCATION)

4 - Los Angeles (Encl. 4) (RM)
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 (1 - 100-84994) (GUS HALL)
 (1 - 100-80532) (HERBERT APTHEKER)
 (1 - 100-105078) (HY LUMER)

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39 - New York (continued)

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(1 - 100-) (GEORGE MORRIS)
(1 - 100-27539) (HENRY WINSTON)
(1 - 100-128255) [REDACTED]
(1 - 100-) (HELEN WINTER)
(1 - 100-40833) (IRVING POTASH)
(1 - 100-26018) (LOU WEINSTOCK)
(1 - 100-) (ROBERT THOMPSON)
(1 - 100-84275) (WILLIAM PATTERSON)
(1 - 100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON)
(1 - 100-) [REDACTED]
(1 - 100-) [REDACTED]
(1 - 100-) [REDACTED], white, male, late 40's or early 50's)
(1 - 100-13483) (BETTY GANNETT TORMEY)
(1 - 100-15946) (JAMES TORMEY)
(1 - 100-) [REDACTED]
(1 - 100-) (GIL GREEN)
(1 - 100-) (MIKE DAVIDOW)
(1 - 100-) (TED BASSETT)
(1 - 100-) (WORLD PEACE CONFERENCE, HELSINKI, FINLAND)
(1 - 100-) (SANE)
(1 - 100-) (CORE)
(1 - 100-) [REDACTED]
(1 - 100-) [REDACTED]
(1 - 100-) [REDACTED]
(1 - 100-) (MRS. TED BASSETT)
(1 - 100-) [REDACTED]
(1 - 100-) [REDACTED]

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3 - Philadelphia (Encl. 3) (RM)
(1 - 100-) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)
(1 - 100-) [REDACTED] female, Negro)
(1 - 100-) (CP, USA - EDUCATION)
1 - Pittsburgh (Encl. 1) (RM)
(1 - 100-) (CP, USA - EDUCATION)
1 - Portland (Encl. 1) (RM)
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- 9 - San Francisco (Encl. 9) (RM)
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 (1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
 (1 - 100-20289) [REDACTED]
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 (1 - 100-39136) (WOMEN FOR PEACE)
 (1 - 100-) (INDUSTRIAL AREAS FOUNDATION) (p. 35)
 (1 - 100-32207) (CINAL)

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Chicago, Illinois
July 19, 1965

A meeting of the National Board of the Communist Party (CP), USA, was held at the Park Sheraton Hotel, New York, New York, starting the morning of July 16, 1965, and continuing on through July 17, and 18, 1965, and also was scheduled to continue on July 19, 1965. The general purpose of this meeting was announced by some of the members present was for preparation of material for pre-convention discussion.

The agenda announced for this meeting is as follows:

For July 16, 1965, a discussion of a proposed CP program for the United States with a report by GUS HALL. On July 17, 1965, a discussion of a draft statement on labor policy followed by discussion. Also on July 17, there was originally proposed a discussion of a draft statement on the struggle for Negro rights. Also on July 17, a sub-report by HERBERT APTHEKER on the recently held World Peace Council Assembly held in Helsinki, Finland, which APTHEKER attended; this was not to be followed by any discussion. Next a report by HY LUMER on the results and an evaluation of the recently

held youth school with no discussion. On July 18, 1965, a report by MICKEY LIMA from Northern California on the struggle against poverty followed by a discussion. On July 19, 1965, a report and discussion on the defense of the CP. Lastly, a summary and conclusions by GUS HALL also taking place on July 19, 1965.

The National Board as far as is known was present with the exception of CARL WINTER who was in Roumania, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT who had an engagement in Chicago and [redacted] [redacted] who also was on a trip. There were present several visitors invited to participate on particular points in the discussions. The attendance included the following:

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GUS HALL

[redacted]
HENRY WINSTON

HELEN WINTER
MORRIS CHILDS
IRV POTASH
LOU WEINSTOCK
ROBERT THOMPSON
WILLIAM PATTERSON
JAMES JACKSON
DOROTHY HEALEY
AL RICHMOND

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[redacted] (A female Negro from Philadelphia)

[redacted]

[redacted] (white male in late 40s or 50s)

BETTY GANNETT TORMEY
JAMES TORMEY

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

PHIL BART
GIL GREEN
MIKE DAVIDOW
GEORGE MEYERS
HERBERT APTHEKER (for part-time only)
TED BASSETT (for part-time only)
EARL DURHAM
HY LUMER

JACK STACHEL
ARNOLD JOHNSON
[REDACTED] (from Brooklyn)

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A report on labor was given on Saturday, July 17, 1965, by IRV POTASH. The Board had before it a rough draft outline of about three mimeographed pages listing questions dealing with the problem in the Labor Movement in the U.S. It was this document that had been passed out to the Board members on July 16, 1965, which was being discussed. POTASH opened the discussion with the following preliminary remarks:

He indicated that the Party needs a realistic estimate of the trends in the American Labor Movement. There are many stirrings such as wildcat strikes and longer strikes involving issues of wages, but more so job insecurity. There were major upsets. Some of the established unions such as IUE are still reflecting a deep dissatisfaction among the rank and file.

There have been some voices in labor raised against the policy of the U. S. in Viet Nam. However, these are few and far between. Many workers are complaining about the physical hardships on the job. There must be a differentiation by our Party as we examine the Labor Movement. It is not one homogeneous bloc. There are certain basic differences among its leadership and its rank and file. There are also large areas of disagreement with estimates in the Party's Trade Union Commission and it is these differences POTASH wanted to discuss.

One of the differences that exists in the Party's Trade Union Commission is the assessment of why the Party should criticize the leadership of the Trade Union Movement. Some comrades speak only of the positive side of the Trade Union Movement. Others continuously speak of the negative. In POTASH's opinion there should be a critical approach, particularly toward MEANY and DUBINSKY for their stand on international questions. However, the criticism should not be leveled in such a way that it tends to feed the anti-labor anti-trade union attack that is currently taking place in the left. The Party should spend time in helping develop

the left and rank and file movement. Some comrades in the Commission do not see the need for such form in the Trade Union Movement. POTASH, in his opinion, feels there is not only a possibility, but a necessity for independent forms in the Trade Union Movement. Some people in the Commission feel that the Party should move toward the mobilization of left centers in the Trade Union Movement. This too should be discussed. The Party must fight for organization of the unorganized as well as fight to repeal 14 B. The draft resolution going out to the Party for discussion should also have estimates of the victory in California and should also include a section dealing with socialism.

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GUS HALL proposed that we have an information report from HERBERT APTEKER who had attended the World Peace Congress in Helsinki before going into discussion of the above.

The reason for this interruption in the agenda was due to the fact that APTEKER had to leave the meeting.

APTHEKER reported as follows:

The World Peace Conference opened in Helsinki, Finland, with approximately 14,060 delegates representing 98 countries. There were 27 African countries, 22 Asian countries and 25 European countries with a total delegation of 680. There were 20 countries of Latin America with a total of 152 delegates. One organization from West Berlin sent delegates. There were 125 from the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, 96 specifically from the U.S., 15 Ministers of State, 92 members of Parliament, 1200 male and 250 female.

The Congress, APTHEKER continued, was extremely successful. The opposition came from the Chinese delegation who were opposed to the holding of the Congress and fought against it being held. Their efforts were defeated. At the Congress itself, after the Chinese were defeated, they asked for special time to present their views. The U.S. asked for equal time and time was granted.

APTHEKER indicated that he was on a committee of five to write the speech for the American delegation and they worked long hours to prepare the speech. The Chinese gave their speech and it was not well received.

Dr. CARLETON GOODLETT delivered the speech for the American delegation and APTHEKER indicated that the reception was unequalled in any of his experiences in any conference or congress. The ovation lasted for a full 15 or 20 minutes with tremendous enthusiasm. The Chinese stood up, but did not applaud. The U.S. Delegation was perhaps the best delegation ever to attend an international conference. There were 22 from the Women's Strike forces, two Methodist Ministers, one Negro, CORE Chairmen from Los Angeles, two Quakers and members of SDS, the DuBois Club, and SANE.

Another struggle that took place at the Congress was the efforts by the Chinese to make it only a plenum rather than a working congress. They were defeated on this also and the conference was a working conference.

On the resolutions, the Chinese proposed that only one resolution come from the Congress and that it be a denunciation of American imperialism. However, they were defeated on this also and the North Vietnamese delegation proposed a resolution and it was passed.

Their resolution differed from the Chinese resolution in that it didn't have all of the blood and guts in it. There was also a resolution proposed on the peace question in general. This resolution was passed unanimously. The resolution proposed by the North Vietnamese delegation passed in the U.S. delegation with 59 yes; 9 no; and 6 abstentions. 22 Women Strike For Peace Corps delegates from the U.S. delegation drafted a statement calling for a return to the Geneva agreement.

There was warm feeling by the entire Congress toward the U.S. delegation.

APTHEKER closed by indicating that his experience was that the American Party must be more represented at these congresses. He indicated that our action can be decisive particularly around certain of these ideological questions. APTHEKER indicated that the leader of the American delegation, Dr. CARLETON GOODLETT, did not vote for the resolution of the Vietnamese. He did accept the responsibility of reading the speech the American delegation wrote, but he abstained in voting for the other resolutions

APTHEKER explained it that GOODLETT has certain ties in Washington and that he felt it may be putting him too far on the left; however, when GOODLETT discussed leaving the peace congress because it was too left, APTHEKER indicated from discussion he was convinced not to withdraw and he did not.

There were several other disruptive elements to the Conference other than the Chinese. One was from Albania and some guy who claimed to be an American who sat in on the American delegation and played a very disruptive role, but in spite of all the difficulties a tremendous conference was held and a very enthusiastic delegation attended from the U.S.

They then went back to the discussion of the labor policy statement. The first speaker was LOUIS WEINSTOCK.

WEINSTOCK indicated he was reluctant to speak because he had not been in activity for a long time because of his health. He also indicated that he would not be available and in a way was saying goodbye to the comrades. He then indicated that he had one or

two questions about the draft statement and the main one he presented was the statement as to the demand to outlaw JIM CROW locals in the trade union movement. He spent time with the resolution to discuss international solidarity with particular reference to the WFPU.

He also discussed his opinion of the necessity for a friendly, but critical approach to the Trade Union leadership and also he indicated that the resolution should highlight the victory of against the LANDRUM-GRIFFIN Deal.

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The next speaker was GIL GREEN.

GREEN indicated that the resolution should begin by restating some basic theological propositions. These propositions emphasize the role of the working class as the new class that can transform society. The Trade Union Movement must be viewed as the most important organization in the U.S. No change will be possible without the Trade Union playing the leading role, therefore, it becomes a more important task for our Party. The Labor Movement is not playing that role today. It is not a unified organization and it is

not necessarily synonymous with the working class. The Party approach should include: 1. That our Party fight for the building and strengthening of the unions. 2. We fight against any split in the labor movement, either through corruption, bribery or racism. 3. That we must recognize that we are fighting in a country that has the strongest imperialist power and that we must fight to have the Trade Unions struggle against this imperialism. We should also understand that objective conditions alone will not lead to class consciousness. This is true because there has been a change in the composition of the American working class and this change requires more ideological understanding by the Party. There will not be any change in the Labor Movement unless it is stimulated by rank and file movement. We must bring forth class policies with clarity. As an example the Party should undertake to write a pamphlet dealing with the rights of the mine workers union and through such a pamphlet draw lesson for the Labor Movement. We must examine specific industries from the viewpoint of concentration and establish new Party bases especially

among Negro and Puerto Rican youth. There must be the closest coordination between the Trade Unions and the community. As far as organization is concerned the Party must be more detailed on tactics and forms. They must fight for the rank and file to participate in their union and we must develop a program for the left in the Trade Union Movement. The resolution must help to mobilize the Party for Trade Union work.

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[] was the next speaker.

[] emphasized the necessity for the left in the Trade Union Movement. The main weakness is the ideological barrier to build Trade Union unity. We must fight against the craft ideology and try to mobilize the unions to fight on Section 14B. [] emphasized questions on the war on poverty, minimum wage and political action movement as they affect labor.

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GEORGE MEYERS was the next speaker.

MEYERS indicated that more discussion is needed on the extent of the Labor Movement. Then MEYERS went through several trade union publications, reading excerpts from articles to indicate the tremendous stirrings

taking place in the Trade Union Movement on both economic and political questions and spent most of his time reading this material to the Board.

PHIL BART was the next speaker.

BART indicated the necessity for building rank and file movement with emphasis on the struggle around jobs and particularly jobs for youth.

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was the next speaker.

He said the resolution needs more ideological material on the role of the working class. As far as the criticism of the Trade Union leadership is concerned we must criticize them like we would members of our own family. Some of those that demand that we conduct our work outside Trade Union Movement reflect lack of knowledge on what goes on inside Trade Unions. Our people are much too critical of the movement. The resolution should demand that there be some fight for control on automation. We should emphasize the shorter work week and have a special section in the resolution dealing with the Negro-Labor alliance.

GUS HALL was the next speaker:

HALL indicated that one of the reasons why this resolution is presenting difficulty is because the Party has shown the least amount of progress in this field. The role of the Party to the working class is in question. So far it has not been good. We seem to have the posture of critics and know-it-alls. GEORGE MORRIS' articles in "The Worker" reflect the worst criticism of the Movement. There is much attack on the Movement from the left and our Party has not sufficiently answered these attacks. We have to take positive action on the Labor Movement in spite of its weaknesses as it has played a decisive role in many significant activities in this country. Some comrades stated that Negro workers only react as Negroes regardless of their position in the Labor Movement. This is entirely wrong and has the seeds of being downgrading to both the Labor Movement and the Negro Movement. HALL indicated that he agreed that an ideological struggle was needed but that he feels very strongly that this is based on a criticism of the Labor Movement that will help seed the anti-labor material being sent out by the left.

HALL indicated that some slogans like "Mis-
Leaders of Labor", "Trade Union Leadership Betrayal" do
not help clarify the position of the Trade Union leader-
ship in this country and we should fight against this.
We must fight against a blanket indictment of corrupt
labor leaders. The historical role of the working class
becomes only a phrase unless we day-to-day fight for this
Labor Movement. There is too little in "The Worker"
dealing with the struggles of the working class and
Labor Movement and all we have is GEORGE MORRIS' column
which is bad. HALL indicated that he had doubts about
the Trade Union Movement and political action, but would
discuss it later. HALL indicated that he agreed that
objective conditions alone do not create class consciousness.
The challenge, however, is for the Party to bring clarity
to the Trade Union Movement and the people, in spite of
the changes in the working class, still be, by virtue
of their position, the leading class in the country. There
was a back and forth debate GIL GREEN and GUS HALL dealing
with the concept of the changes in the working class and
its effect on class consciousness and it was not resolved at
that meeting.

HY LUMER was the next speaker.

LUMER indicated that the attitude toward the Labor Movement by much of the left press has been negative and the Party has the responsibility for correction of this error. On the outline that was presented, LUMER indicated the proposals for Government to control automation need further examination because it is not clear just what type of automation is meant. There are many forms that automation takes and we must not do anything to cause splits among the workers. We must supply answers to the changes that are effecting the entire working class. Even those workers who are receiving high wages feel the tension of insecurity. We must criticize what is being said by people like MEANY and LOVESTONE in the Labor Movement. The Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) has a new National Chairman who is [redacted] b6 b7C from California and the fact that [redacted] of the U.S. Steel Workers was present at the meeting was a factor in electing [redacted] over a more conservative candidate.

ARNOLD JOHNSON was the next speaker.

JOHNSON indicated that the Party should try and emphasize one major question that will make a change in the Labor Movement and that is proposition 14 B. JOHNSON went on to explain why such a campaign for 14 B could push the Labor Movement forward.

DOROTHY HEALEY was the next speaker.

HEALEY stated the basic questions should be taken for granted when you are discussing the National Board of the Party. She indicated her dissatisfaction that some comrades lecture others on the role of the working class. That is not the problem. The problem is what tactics are developing that will push the Party in a more positive posture among the working class and HEALEY indicated that she challenges anyone who has a better theoretical approach as opposed to those who are supposed to have no theoretical approach. HEALEY explained that she felt that the predominant motivation of Negro workers in the Trade Union Movement was their reaction as Negroes. She further indicated that the criticism of

the leadership must be more effective as well as presented so as not to be construed as anti-labor. Another question the resolution does not touch on and it needs to, is the question of imported labor and its relationship to the American Labor Movement and the legislation on women's rights. HEALEY also discussed forms of organization for the Party and in her opinion the Party workers in shops must be related to the community.

BOB THOMPSON was the next speaker.

THOMPSON expressed dissatisfaction with the fact that the resolution did not hold with what he considered the most essential problem and that is the fact that the American Labor Movement is confronted with an Imperialist monopoly-controlled government that is bent on a war program. If this is not the theme upon which our tactics and objectives are based we will not serve any purpose with this resolution and he felt it should be completely rewritten. Two other problems he discussed for the resolution to emphasize are the organization of the unorganized and major political action.

TOMMY DENNIS was the next speaker.

DENNIS indicated that a special session on the Negro-Labor Alliance should be added. In his opinion a Negro trade unionist played both roles in the community. He speaks as a trade unionist and in his trade union he may speak as a Negro. Such is interchangeable and it cannot be otherwise. Some of the approaches we take in the Party to Negro-white communities seem to flop rather than build because we are looking for shortcuts.

AL RICHMOND was the next speaker.

He indicated his agreement with **THOMPSON** and emphasized the necessity for struggle with the policies of **GEORGE MEANY**.

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[redacted] was the next speaker.

The resolution does not deal sufficiently with the question of public works as it relates to the youth problem and a program around this question should be included.

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[redacted] was the next speaker.

[redacted] stated that the Trade Union Movement needs more elaboration in the resolution. The Trade Union youth are not put into the Trade Union Movement and the Party should have an opinion on that question.

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JIM JACKSON was the next speaker.

JACKSON indicated that a great deal of change has taken place from the time that GEORGE MEANY told RANDOLPH in San Francisco that he did not speak for the Negro people up to the most recent period when RANDOLPH called for the abolition of JIM CROW tactics in all the trade unions. JACKSON made the point that pressure can change even the worst bureaucrat and our emphasis must be put on building rank and file movement. JACKSON indicated that there is an ideology of anti-idealism that permeates both the labor and the Negro peoples movements. This substantially tries to prevent the workers from grasping any idea of their strength and their ability to develop an independent movement for their liberation.

IRVING POTASH summarized.

POTASH's summary indicates that there was a decision in the Trade Union Committee that the resolution would have three main positions:

1. The resistance to the war program of the Administration.

2. The organization of the unorganized.

3. the role of the Party.

POTASH then indicated that the resolution needed much more work and the discussion indicates areas of disagreement and he then agreed with GREEN's position on the conclusion that the working class composition has changed in this country. There were several statements back and forth between POTASH and GREEN and GREEN got hot. However, the point was closed by the Chairman after GREEN spoke. They proposed that the resolution be sent back to the Trade Union Committee and a document come out taking the discussion into consideration and it be rediscussed in the Board before being given to the Party. The group agreed upon this.

HENRY WINSTON announced that the resolution on the Negro question would be withdrawn from that meeting and would be referred to the Secretariat who would propose a procedure as to how the discussion would take place. This was agreed on by the Board.

At a luncheon meeting prior to the closing of the debate on the labor resolution, HENRY WINSTON, JIM JACKSON, [REDACTED], EARL DURHAM and GEORGE MEYERS met to decide how to handle the resolution on the Negro question. It was agreed on that there would be a meeting of that body that was established at the Negro Commission meeting who had the responsibility for preparing the resolution in Chicago on August 7 or 8, 1965. This committee would be composed of the following:

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HENRY WINSTON
JIM JACKSON
[REDACTED]
EARL DURHAM
GEORGE MEYERS

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This was agreed on because time would not permit an adequate discussion and the resolution that was before the Board was totally inadequate.

Saturday evening, July 17, 1965, was spent in a reception at the Woodstock Hotel for HENRY WINSTON and [] who announced their engagement. This was attended by all people who attended the Board meeting and their wives and husbands. A few more people such as [], Mr. [] BASSETT, [] [], [] and others also attended.

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At the reception a collection was taken up for the engaged couple and there were speeches and a social atmosphere.

The Sunday, July 18, 1965, meeting opened at the Liberty Suite of the Park Sheraton Hotel. The meeting was chaired by TOMMY DENNIS.

The proposed agenda for this meeting was an information report on the school that was recently held for the youth and a discussion of the war on poverty with a report by MICKEY LIMA following the discussion. It was proposed that these be the only two points and on Monday the meeting would end with a report on Party defense and organizational proposals for the convention.

HY LUMER reported as follows:

The school recently held for the youth was perhaps the most successful enterprise conducted by the Party in many a year. They went far beyond expectation. There were approximately 75 students. It was the first time the Party had attempted such a mass educational effort. The school had certain weaknesses which LUMER indicated he would mention after the report. The school created a sense of confidence among the participants and the participants came to the school with many diverse opinions as to the necessity or the ability of the Party leadership to play a role in American political life. It was LUMER's opinion that the school dispelled all doubt and gave the participants a feeling of solidarity and identification with Marxism-Leninism. LUMER indicated that it was interesting what was printed in the press about the school as well as what was not printed. LUMER indicated a reporter from the "New York Times" interviewed the leadership of the school, but did not find it important enough to print. Other sources that printed material tried to give the impression that the school was a failure. However, it was obvious to even

the reporters that got the information that something new was being added to the Party and that there was not acceptance of the characterization by the articles appearing in the press which depict the Party as a "dead fuddy duddy organization."

Many of the students developed insight into theory and the material basis for the CP. It was a tremendous organizational undertaking by the Party. It involved some 17 Party leaders to teach. They divided the students into categories, some more advanced, some which only discussed civil rights activity and some who discussed mass policy. During the evaluation held by the participants the participants indicated that the Party should have stated that they were going to have an elementary school and an advanced school because that in effect was what it was.

The curriculum was prepared by the Youth Commission and included basic Marxism-Leninism as well as current evaluation of political events. There was a series of five lectures that were delivered to plenary sessions of the school. They were as follows:

Socialism led by JIM JACKSON

Leftism and Trotskyism led by HY LUMER

Communism and Ethics led by GUS HALL

The American Trade Union Movement led by CARL WINTER

The History of the CP, USA led by JACK STACHEL

LUMER indicated that the lectures by HALL and STACHEL were the highlights of the school and were very well received. LUMER also indicated that there was a request that HALL's lecture be reproduced for mass circulation. The discipline of the students was outstanding. It was obvious that they were a serious group and would not tolerate among fellow students any goldbricking.

LUMER indicated the following weaknesses in the school:

1. The Party got a late start in organizing this effort. There seems to have been a breakdown in communications between the District and the Center and as a result some goofup took place.

2. LUMER indicated he only got involved about six weeks before the opening. That meant that outlines and curriculum and the organization of the teachers reflected a hurry-up job.

3. The organizational details of the school tied up too many of those who should have been preparing curriculum and other presentations.

The composition of the students was as follows:

Southern California	- 9
Northern California	- 11
Oregon	- 4
Washington State	- 3
Minnesota	- 2
Michigan	- 4
Illinois	- 3
Missouri	- 3
West Pennsylvania	- 1
Connecticut	- 3
Massachusetts	- 4
New York	- 18
Philadelphia	- 7
New Jersey	- 12

12 others also attended from places unknown.

LUMER indicated that it was obvious that there was a weakness in the mobilization from the Midwest. This responsibility rests on the District leadership as well as a breakdown in communications and misunderstanding as to the character of the school. Another major weakness was in the fact only six Negroes were present. Another weakness was that predominantly all were students. As far as weakness in content, the participants indicated it should have included more theory and flowing from that the relationship of theory to practice. In the future it will be important to include work shops as part of the school. All material should be prepared in advance to allow for advanced reading. Any future preparations for such a school should be started at least six months before the opening. To follow up the school LUMER suggested that local schools be developed in some districts and that the Party develop a teacher training institute. LUMER also suggested that some of the lectures be put in pamphlet form, that the outlines developed at the school be made available to

the District and somewhere, somehow, someone or some group begin work on an elementary textbook on Marxism in America and lastly the reorganization of the educational apparatus so that it may be strengthened in every district.

GUS HALL asked PHIL BART to give a little report of youth activity in Cleveland because, in his opinion, it is the fruit of the school.

PHIL BART then spoke indicating that two of the young people who had attended the school came to Cleveland to work on the Summer Project of the DuBois Clubs. BART indicated that the Party leadership in Cleveland is working under an atmosphere of fear and is developing a mentality that nothing can be done. These two young people are showing just the opposite. They are working to establish a DuBois club in the Cleveland area. Prior to their coming in a young man from the DuBois Club had been to Cleveland and had met with practically every progressive person in the area in order to avoid conflict and to discuss joint activity. These two young people who came in for the Summer Project are from California. They immediately

established contact with young people by going to a coffee house known as the Well which is sponsored by some religious organization. They made several contacts in this area and with the help of the Party opened up a center in the Negro community of Cleveland. Then they decided to hold a reception. The Party in Cleveland has one Negro member.

DuBois Club people made contact with some Negro youth and decided that they would have to have at least one Negro youth working full time during the summer if they were to be successful. So they kicked in part of their subsistence salary and with the help of the Party they have put this Negro youth on full time. They then called a reception and social affair in the center and approximately 70 young people, Negro and white, attended. This was beyond the fondest hope of any of the Party leadership and with this they hoped to establish a permanent DuBois Club and leave a native leadership at the end of the summer. There was no discussion of BART's remarks.

MICKEY LIMA gave a report on the question of poverty.

LIMA began by discussing the recently published book by HY LUMER which he said was invaluable in an understanding of the questions of poverty. LIMA indicated that there exists an explosive situation in urban areas. The poorest groups can be moved into political activity. The minority groups as well as the white working class groups must be involved and the Party must strengthen its work in the fight for the needs of the poor. LIMA indicated that his report would not deal with the poverty in the countryside, but indicated the Party must examine this question because it was of a remote serious nature. LIMA then gave statistics from various state sources in California indicating the status of the war on poverty and the status of the poor in that state. He dealt with statistics around housing, health and welfare. He spent time on the problems of urban renewal and the problems of retired workers. He indicated the state of California has a 25% high school dropout rate and among youth in general, one out of five are unemployed, but in the ghetto

50% of the working youth are unemployed. LIMA indicated the Party had participated in at least four efforts to develop anti-poverty movements. The first was the Labor Committee for Full Employment. This was not initiated by the Party, but rather the Trade Union Movement of Northern California. It had reached at its peak some 5,000 members. It began losing its status in the community when it began to put pressure on the Trade Union Movement to become more active in the problems of the unemployed. It also suffered because certain elements from progressive labor and Trotskyite groups began voicing their leftist ideas in the organization. At present the organization is disbanded. The second organization is the Housing Committee in San Francisco. This committee came into being as a result of the last [redacted] election campaign. This committee's program included a fight against the urban renewal program of San Francisco. It is centered in the area where [redacted] [redacted] got 25% of the vote. This committee is still functioning and still in the struggle. The third organization

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is the Welfare Rights Organization composed mainly of ADC recipients. It has approximately 400 families involved. The fourth organization is the Oakland DuBois Club with a membership of about 30. They do both service and struggle around the problems of jobs. The fifth organization is Youth for Jobs which has been in existence for about two years. This one is not so stable. It was initiated by the Party and did well until the last year. They have overextended themselves with a headquarters that financially is draining them. They also took on too much responsibility in the unemployment field and do not solely concentrate on youth. They recently held a benefit which was given by [redacted] and they raised a little money, but still they had problems in stability. The next committee is the Ad Hoc Committee. This committee was mainly composed of students and it is the body that conducted struggles for jobs for Negro youth at the "Oakland Tribune", the car sales offices and the hotel restaurants in the Bay area. They were successful in their efforts

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and perhaps won more victories than any other group. They are at present disbanded because they were an Ad Hoc Committee and they felt they had accomplished their goal by acquainting the state and city with their problems.

LIMA then indicated that the war on poverty from the JOHNSON administration is totally inadequate and does not meet the needs.

In concluding LIMA indicated that he felt that a permanent form of organization can come to service on the problem of the poor. He indicated the necessity for a program for senior citizens, more attention to trade union forms for unemployed and the necessity for continuous dramatic action. He further proposed that the Party develop a program to answer the crisis in the major cities. On this question he closed by indicating there was in existence Party people in all of these movements to make contacts to build the Party. In his opinion the doors were open and there is need for a specific plan for building.

EARL DURHAM spoke on two questions. One, he agreed with the main position of LIMA in his report and indicated that such report is to be a regular feature of the Party work. The Party is supposed to be the Party of the poor which means most of its activity must be in defense of the poor. DURHAM indicated that one feature of the organization of the Working Class Committee is being taken by the Industrial Areas Foundation. This is the organization that founded PWO in Chicago. They began organization by bringing together the already accepted leaders of the community and developing struggles around all of the immediate needs of the community. As a result they build and consolidate organization in the community which later comes under the control of the leadership of the IAF and, therefore, all future struggles are determined by its leadership and no longer is it reflective of the community. The only criticism DURHAM had of LIMA's report was its failure to evaluate more seriously the war on poverty from the administration's point of view. DURHAM indicated that this economic

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opportunity affords opportunity to develop frontals in various working class communities to change the character of that program from its inadequacies to a program that will meet the needs of the men. Ways can be found to take advantage of two aspects of the act.

1. All community committees dispensing the funds for the war on poverty are required to have representatives of the poor on them and the struggle must be put up in every instance.

2. Legitimate committees dealing with one or another aspect of the war on poverty can apply their money to carry out their program.

Lastly DURHAM indicated in Chicago the war on poverty funds are being used to bolster the political machine, therefore, it is of utmost importance that the working class and the people in the community be involved with this administration.

GEORGE MEYERS was the next speaker.

MEYERS indicated that the Party does not have any experience in Baltimore on initiating anti-poverty programs. The SDS in Baltimore is lead by, what MEYERS characterized as, a lunatic fringe and has

done more harm than good in their program. MEYERS indicated that mass activity would be the key to success.

from BROOKLYN was the next speaker. b6 b7C

He indicated that any organization among the poor must be in a position to render a service to convince people in the community that the organization means business. He indicated that when Mobilization For Youth was attacked by the reactionaries in his community the poor people of the community formed a committee to defend this organization. The left made some mistake. They organized a committee to defend Mobilization For Youth, but they did it half-heartedly because they were critical of how Mobilization For Youth was organized in the first place, therefore, they were not effective and the struggle was lost. indicated in his opinion the young people who come around organizations are only willing to stay if they become convinced that they can win. The Party has many opportunities as it is bold and consistent. b6 b7C

DOROTHY HEALEY agreed with his report and spent time discussing the necessity for participating in the administration's war on poverty program to guarantee that the poor are represented and that labor assert itself.

[redacted] from Philadelphia spoke indicating her agreement with the report. She indicated Philadelphia had been putting up a struggle to get the poor on all of the committees dealing with the poverty fund and had won in many places. [redacted] also indicated the Party was very weak on the mobilization of women and in her opinion the women were some of the main factors in building community organizations.

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[redacted] was the next speaker.

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[redacted] indicated that five organizers, who were former members of CORE, organized a center to service the youth in Harlem. They were fairly successful and had gotten support from the communities. They had committees of ADC parents, a sports program and an unemployment service department. All in all [redacted] reports that thousands of young people came through the organization. A small corps of them were moving

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closer to the Party and were holding discussions with some Party leaders. [] indicated that the organization devoted its main reason for folding to its lack of financial assistance. However, he indicated that it is possible to reconstruct and continue the movement.

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AL RICHMOND spoke indicating that this discussion on poverty put the Party Board meeting in correct perspective and more such discussion should take place. He indicated that the Party should examine each experience such as LIMA began to do in California so that we may learn lessons and mobilize our Party more. It is all right to talk about trends in the Negro and Labor Movements, but we must come down to just what are the Party members themselves doing.

On Sunday, July 18, 1965, during the lunch break, there was a meeting between EARL DURHAM and HENRY WINSTON.

WINSTON mentioned to DURHAM to relay the following to CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT when he returns to Chicago.

WINSTON told DURHAM to tell LIGHTFOOT that the resolution on Negro work was not discussed at the National Board and if LIGHTFOOT would read it the reasons will become clear. WINSTON indicated that DURHAM should tell LIGHTFOOT of the proposed meeting of the subcommittee in August and that they should discuss the following questions for the resolution:

1. An estimate of the present stage in the struggle for Negro rights, that is, the new features, the ideal currents, the struggle for unity, the problems of Negro nationalism, etc.

2. The party should indicate its answers to a whole series of questions, such as non-violence, civil disobedience, "The Deacons for Defense", boycotts, street demonstrations, etc. There should be a Party position on the newly expressed emphasis on "struggle for black power". There should be some estimates of the struggles in the South and approach to the concept of race pride and lastly, an approach to the building of the Party.

The committee that meets in Chicago should have an understanding that these questions must be included in any resolution presented to the Party for its pre-convention discussion.

DURHAM indicated he would relay the message to LIGHTFOOT.

7/23/65

airtel

To: SACs Chicago (100-41324)
Cleveland (100-37056)
Detroit (100-32457)
Newark (100-18290)
✓ New York (100-153735)
Philadelphia (100-47672)
Washington Field (100-43710)

From: Director, FBI (100-442529)

CIRM

Recipient offices have been previously advised concerning the "people to people" tour of Northern cities which is being taken by Martin Luther King, Jr., and members of his staff of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). The tour is to start 7/24/65 in Chicago and probably end sometime in the first week in August in Washington, D.C. Cities scheduled to be visited include those of recipients of instant communication. Activities in the various cities will be generally in the racial field and will include rallies, demonstrations and similar activities. Prior correspondence in this matter has been in a variety of titles including "Martin Luther King, Jr., SM-C"; "COMINFIL of SCLC, IS-C"; and "CIRM."

This is to alert recipient offices to the absolute necessity of developing all possible information concerning communist participation and/or influence in the various activities which will take place. Separate prompt communications should be submitted to the Bureau in the CIRM caption which will report the communist influence in racial matters. Information which may be disseminated should be included in letterhead memoranda.

1 - Atlanta (100-6670)

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100-153735-1675

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AUG 1 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

SEATON

SM2
7/24

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SAC, NEW YORK

7/23/55

SA [redacted] (46)

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COMINFIL, STATEN ISLAND CORE
IS-C

Identity of Source [redacted]

b7D

Description of info S.I. CORE Officers.

Date Received 7/16/55

Original Located [redacted]

b7D

A copy of informant's report follows:

b7D

- 1 - New York [redacted] (INV.) [redacted] (46)
- 1 - New York 100-141162 [redacted] (46)
- 1 - New York 100-54303 [redacted] (46)
- 1 - New York 100-111573 [redacted] (46)
- 1 - New York 100-109159 [redacted] (46)
- 1 - New York 100-153735 (CIRM) (42)
- 1 - New York 100-153249 (41)

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VJB:pcc
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100-153735-676

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JUL 23 1955	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signature]

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On July 14, 1965, the Staten Island Chapter, Congress of Racial Equality held a meeting at the Markham House Community Center, West Brighton, Staten Island, New York.

Election of Officers was held and the following were elected:

[redacted] - Chairman
[redacted] - Vice Chairman
[redacted] - Recording Secretary
[redacted] - Corresponding Secretary
[redacted] - Treasurer

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Also observed at this meeting was [redacted]
[redacted], and [redacted].

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7/26/65

Date received 7/17/65	Received from (name or symbol number) [redacted] b7D	Received by SA [redacted] b6 b7C
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person
 by telephone
 by mail
 orally
 recording device
 written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated by Informant _____

Date of Report

EXHIBIT

Date(s) of activity

CURRENT

Brief description of activity or material

Handbill circulated by US Nationalist Party
at Police Headquarters, NYC, 7/17/65

File where original is located if not attached

NY 157-514-1A

Remarks:

Handbill is entitled "Red to the CORE" and alleges that some leading CORE supporters have CP sympathies.

Index: A. J. MUSTE
MARTIN LUTHER KING
BAYARD RUSTIN
ADAM CLAYTON POWELL
JAMES PECK

b6
b7C

[redacted]
ROGER BALDWIN

b7D

1 [redacted] (INV) (42)
1-157-514 (USNP) (42)
1-157-1223 (CORE) (42)
①-100-153735 (CIRM) (42)

VJA:ckm
(4)

Block Stamp

100-153735-1677

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SERIALIZED.....FILED.....

JUL 27 1965
FBI - NEW YORK

Katon

1/42

TO: SAC, JACKSON (157-)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-155762)
SUBJECT: BROOKLYN FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT
IS-C

DATE: 7/26/65

Date received <u>6/28/65</u>	Received from (name or symbol number) b7D [redacted] (Reliable-Conceal)	Received by SA [redacted]
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person by telephone by mail orally recording device written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Dictated 6/28/65 to [redacted]

Transcribed 7/1/65

Authenticated by Informant 7/7/65

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b7C

Date of Report
6/28/65

Date(s) of activity

6/26/65

Brief description of activity or material

Mass Rally to launch Brooklyn Freedom Democratic Movement, 6/26/65, Brooklyn, NY.

File where original is located if not attached

[redacted] b7D

Remarks:

- 1 - Jackson (157-) (MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEM. PARTY) (RM)
- 1 - New York [redacted] (INV) (42) b7D
- 1 - New York (157-892) (RACIAL SITUATION, NYD) (42)
- ① - New York (100-153735) (CIRM) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-80703) [redacted] (47)
- 1 - New York (100-128388) (MILTON GALAMISON) (42) b6 b7C
- 1 - New York (100-152981) [redacted] (47)
- 1 - New York (100-152910) [redacted] (47)
- 1 - New York (157-1352) (HARLEM PARENTS COMMITTEE) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-95014) (GILBERTO GERENA VALENTIN) (45)
- 1 - New York (100-152756) (NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR PUERTO RICAN CIVIL RIGHTS) (44)
- 1 - New York (157-1223) (CORE) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-83801) [redacted] (46)
- 1 - New York (100-155762) (BFDM) (41)

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#42

NY 100-155762

New York, New York
6/28/65

Mass rally to launch Brooklyn Freedom Democratic Movement (BFDM) and [redacted] candidate for City Council, Saturday, 6/26/65, 8:30 p.m. to 11:00 p.m. at Washington Temple, Bedford Avenue and Bergen Street, Brooklyn, New York. The audience was half white and Half Negro. b6 b7C

[redacted] served as master of ceremonies and as chairman of the BFDM. b6 b7C

MILTON GALAMISON, the first speaker endorsed [redacted] for City Councilman and protested that the people of Bedford Stuyvesant do not have proportional representation in the City Council. b6 b7C

[redacted], representing Puerto Rican youth, spoke in Spanish and then briefly in English. He stated that the Puerto Rican community would support [redacted] in his campaign for City Councilman; that [redacted] had helped the Puerto Ricans in his rent strike activities and they would now cooperate with him. b6 b7C

[redacted], Harlem Parents Committee (HPC), stated that the HPC had not put up an independent candidate but that they had drawn up a platform which any candidate would have to support. He stated that the HPC would support [redacted] and that the following points were included in the platform of the HPC: b6 b7C

1. Repeal of stop, search and frisk law.
2. Establishment of a new Civilian Review Board.
3. Enforcement of FEPC laws in the State of New York.

NY 100-155762

4. Adequate and improved housing.
5. Establishment of a museum of Afro-American Culture in the Harlem area.

GILBERT GERENA VALENTIN stated that he is running himself for City Councilman at large and is backed by the National Association for Puerto Rican civil rights. He stated he would also like to see [redacted] elected to the City Council.

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[redacted] Northeast Regional Director, CORE, endorsed [redacted]'s candidacy and introduced as one of the principal speakers, [redacted], representing the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. [redacted] is candidate for Congress from the State of Mississippi with the MFDP. Her speech was a comparison of conditions in Mississippi affecting the Negroes and conditions in the northern ghettos. She claimed there is a similarity in these conditions.

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[redacted] sang and played the guitar.

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[redacted] spoke about the aims of the BFDM and stated his platform was the same as the platform of the HPC and [redacted]. [redacted] criticized the present incumbent on the City Council representing Bedford-Stuyvesant. He stated this individual had not introduced any measures which benefited substantially the people of Bedford-Stuyvesant. [redacted] hoped that the BFDM would spread to the other boroughs of New York and become a city wide movement.

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SAC, NEW YORK (100-153249) 41

7/26/65

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SA [redacted]

Cominfil, STATEN ISLAND CORE
IS-C

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b7D

On 7/26/65, [redacted] advised that the Staten Island Chapter, CORE, held its regular meeting on the evening of 7/21/65 at the Markham Houses Community Center, West Brighton Staten Island, N.Y. The informant advised that [redacted], the new Vice-Chairman, was present at this meeting. According to the informant, [redacted] is attempting to persuade the Chapter to join hands with the "Staten Islanders For Peace".

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1 [redacted] (Inv) 46
1 - 100-54303 [redacted] 46
① - 100-153735 (CIRM) 42
VJS:

100-153735-1679

Jz
Seaton

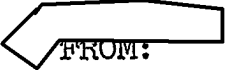
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: SAC, CHICAGO

DATE: 7/26/65

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FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80633)

SUBJECT: CPUSA-EDUCATION
IS-C

(OO: New York)

On July 6, 1965, NY 2359-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that a meeting of the Secretariat, CPUSA was held on above date at CP Headquarters, NYC. Among those in attendance were: GUS HALL, HY LUMER, [redacted], [redacted], WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, GIL GREEN and ROBERT THOMPSON.

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According to the source the first part of the meeting was devoted to a discussion of the recently concluded Party school held in New Jersey. HY LUMER commented that it was one of the most important developments in "our work" in many years. He said it was precedent setting in having such a school on such a scale. He noted that there were approximately 75 students having four separate classes which ran simultaneously.

- 3 - Chicago (RM)
(1-100-) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
- 1 - Los Angeles (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Newark (Info) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-84994) (GUS HALL) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-105078) (HY LUMER) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-145816) ([redacted]) (#42)
- 1 - New York (100-84275) (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-13472) (GIL GREEN) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-27452) (ROBERT THOMPSON) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-80644) (CPUSA-YOUTH MATTERS) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-69956) (HELEN WINTER) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-141914) ([redacted]) (#42)
- 1 - New York (100-128255) ([redacted]) (#42)
- 1 - New York (100-135736) ([redacted]) (#42)
- 1 - New York (100-153735) (CIRM) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-27539) (CARL WINTER) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (42)
- 1 - New York

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LUMER stated that the impact of such a school was in the bringing together a number of young people. It effected everyone and gave a feeling of strength and power as well as respect for the Party. Such a group he said leaves a tremendous impression. The presence of such a group gives a lie to those who have pointed to the Party as being old and decrepit having no future and the like. The school also produced closer ties between the Party leadership and these young people. The Party learned from them and they in turn learned from "us". The school served to give the student body a theoretical basis for their work and activities as well as a much greater respect for theory and for the theoretical basis of the Party.

Continuing LUMER commented the carrying through of this project was a tremendous undertaking. The preparations were in the hands of a committee consisting of HELEN (WINTER), [redacted], [redacted], [redacted] and himself. The actual work prior to and during the school was carried on by [redacted] and HELEN (WINTER).

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He noted that a total of 17 people were involved in peace. The sessions on the youth question were taught by [redacted], [redacted] and [redacted]. [redacted] taught other classes.

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LUMER commented regarding the content of the school noting that there was a course on civil rights which was established primarily for people active in civil rights work. There was an elementary and an advanced course. The elementary course consisted of elementary Marxism-Leninism whereas the advanced course was organized along different lines. It dealt with the main areas of struggle today such as peace, civil liberties and the economic struggles. This was handled by GUS (HALL), CLAUDE (LIGHTFOOT), CARL (WINTER) and [redacted]. The civil rights course was sort of left behind in the last minute rush.

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NY 100-80633

In addition to the above, LUMER noted that they had lectures on Socialism, Ethics, Morality, Leftism, Trotskyism, The Trade Union Movement and Party History. He said that CARL (WINTER) and JACK STACHEL were involved in this.

LUMER next spoke concerning the weaknesses with regard to the school. He noted that one was the preparation out of which grew a lot of shortcomings and mistakes. The preparation was done in the final six week period before the school opened and as a result the outline material was hastily done. He noted that there was no time or opportunity for correct examination or revision of the outline.

Continuing, LUMER stated that consideration should be given to the organization of a combination of classes and workshops. He said the program material must be prepared in advance. Further, it would be important to limit the number of teachers and thus allow each teacher enough time to cover a substantial area of work.

He said that with regard to a follow up they wanted to have in each area a local project. He also spoke of a need to organize on a regional basis in other areas. LUMER proposed that some of the lectures be put in printed form as well as immediate revisions of the outlines and indicated that these too would be put into printed form.

stated that the evaluation concerning the school was extremely good. She said she found a very high level of understanding among the people. GUS HALL said that they should take a self-critical attitude towards concepts of youth development. He indicated that if this was understood by the Party leadership they could have a cadre three times as large. HALL felt that there was need for a more concrete plan of education and classes far beyond the people that they had at the school.

b6
b7c

NY 100-80633

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON expressed the opinion that the struggle must be brought to the Negro youth in order that they would get a realization of the concept of the change taking place. PATTERSON said that some of the youth from Los Angeles said they did not have confidence because they did not know the Party leaders but now that they do know the leaders they do have confidence.

HY LUMER in concluding stated that they have a long way to go; that it's not merely a matter of schools but one of working with youth. He said he agreed wholeheartedly that they should write up the recent school. He endorsed the proposal of a nation-wide teacher training program, preparation of an outline material and to undertake the publishing of a handbook. He spoke of the need for preparation of a Marxist text.

IN THE EVENT THAT THE ABOVE INFORMATION IS INCLUDED IN A REPORT IT SHOULD BE SUITABLY PARAPHRASED IN ORDER NOT TO COMPROMIZE A HIGHLY PLACED AND SENSITIVE INFORMANT.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
July 27, 1965

CONFIDENTIAL

Bureau Files
100-442529
100-434819

Communist Influence in Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

Freedomways Associates, Incorporated
Internal Security - C

Confidential sources recently furnished a copy of a letter dated "June 1965" on the letterhead of "Freedomways", 799 Broadway, New York City, which was addressed to Henry Winston at 23 West 26th Street, New York, New York, and signed by J. H. O'Dell. In this letter, O'Dell notified Winston that "Freedomways" was publishing a special issue devoted entirely to Mississippi, the theme of which is "Opening Up the Closed Society." He said that this special issue would be out shortly and said that because of "widespread interest in the subject", they had arranged for organizations to secure bulk orders of this issue at a special discount rate of 25 per cent during the month of June, 1965. O'Dell stated that, "We hope to reach many new readers through this special issue including some of your colleagues and friends."

The same sources furnished a copy of a letter dated June 21, 1965, from Henry Winston addressed "Dear Comrades" enclosing a copy of O'Dell's letter and stating that he had read the Mississippi issue of "Freedomways" describing it as "outstanding". Winston added, "We are very pleased to receive such correspondence and are willing to put our best foot forward to help in this major effort. I should like to urge that your district discuss what support can be given to help spread the story of the struggles of the heroic fighters of Mississippi. It would be best to order directly from 'Freedomways'".

CONFIDENTIAL

Group 1

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

Searched

Serialized

Indexed

Filed

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-150735-1681

CONFIDENTIAL

Communist Influence in Racial Matters;
Freedomways Associates, Incorporated

The current issue of the magazine "Freedomways", which is devoted to the theme "Mississippi: Opening Up the Closed Society", is the Spring, 1965, issue, and this issue identifies the editor for the issue as J. H. O'Dell.

A characterization of Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, publisher of the magazine "Freedomways", is set forth in the Appendix page.

A confidential source advised in July, 1962, that, as of that time, O'Dell was considered by the Communist Party, United States of America, (CP, USA), as being a member of its National Committee.

A confidential source advised on August 13, 1961, that at a meeting of the National Committee of the CP, USA, held on August 12 and 13, 1961, Henry Winston was elected a member of that Committee, the National Executive Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Party.

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Communist Influence in Racial Matters;
Freedomways Associates, Incorporated

1.

APPENDIX

FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INCORPORATED

The records of the New York Secretary of State, Albany, New York, show that the certificate of incorporation of Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, was filed on March 2, 1961.

The Spring, 1964, issue of "Freedomways" is self-described as "A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement" published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York City.

On May 24, 1961, a source advised that a report was given on "Freedomways" at a meeting of the National Board, Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), held on May 24, 1961. It was stated that the original plan called for the publication to be openly Marxist, but that it was later decided it would not be avowedly a Marxist publication. Editorials are in the hands of a mixed group of Marxists and non-Marxists. It was stated that the central purpose of "Freedomways" is to develop a theory and positive criticism of currents in the Negro movement, as well as to raise the level of understanding and discussion taking place in Negro life today and to project a socialist and pro-Soviet orientation.

On May 25, 1961, another source advised that "Freedomways" was set up for the CPUSA by JAMES JACKSON, a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 01-27-2012

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

New York, New York
JULY 27, 1965

Title Communist Influence in Racial
Matters; Freedomways Associates,
Incorporated

Character Internal Security - C

Reference is made to the memorandum
dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose
identities are concealed in referenced communication have
furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations
nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property
of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and
its contents are not to be distributed outside
your agency.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

DIRECTOR, FBI

JUL 27 1965

SAC, NEW YORK

CIRM
IS-C
(Bufile 100-442529)
(NYfile 100-153735)
(OO: New York)

FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INC.
IS-C
(Bufile 100-434819)
(NYfile 100-144189)
(OO: New York)

Rebulet to NY, 7/9/65.

There are enclosed for the Bureau nine copies of a LHM containing information from letters furnished by [redacted] and [redacted] on 6/24/65. These letters contained information about a request from J. H. O'DELL of "Freedomways" magazine to have HENRY WINSTON distribute copies of the current issue on Mississippi, and WINSTON's endorsement of this issue to CP Districts. b7D

The source used to characterize O'DELL is NY 694-3*, and the source used to characterize HENRY WINSTON is CG 5824-3*.

This LHM is classified "Confidential" because it contains information from the sources used, the unauthorized disclosure of which could be detrimental to the defense interests of the US and result in the loss of sources of great value.

- 4-Bureau (100-442529) (Encls. 9) (RM)
- (2- 100-424819)
- 1-New York (100-91330) (H. P. O'DELL) (42)
- 1-New York (100- 268) (HENRY WINSTON)
- 1-New York (100-153735)
- 1-New York (100-155189)

100-153735-1682

JFO:dam
(8)

Searched _____
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 Indexed _____
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
July 27, 1965

----- Bufile 157-3022
NYfile 157-1469

Organization for Black Power
Racial Matters

Reference is made to previous communication submitted in this matter dated June 21, 1965, at New York, entitled "Communist Infiltration of Coalition of Militant Negro Radicals; IS - C".

All confidential sources referred to herein and in the Appendix have furnished reliable information in the past. b6 b7C

Confidential Source Number 1 advised on July 16 and July 17, 1965, that [redacted] of Philadelphia as of that time was East Coast Director of the Organization for Black Power (OBP). He complained that Jesse Gray had not shown up for certain meetings which he should have attended; that everybody was "pretty disgusted" with Jesse Gray because he ran away and did not tell anybody anything. This source further stated that Jesse Gray was in Chicago on July 16, 1965, and returned to New York on July 17, 1965.

On July 23, 1965, Confidential Source Number 1 advised that [redacted] of Philadelphia was in contact with Jesse Gray on that date. Jesse Gray stated b6 b7C

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Group I

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification.~~

Searched

Serialized

Indexed

Filed

100-153735-1683

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Organization for Black Power

that he had been in touch with [redacted], who had been in jail the other day. ([redacted] is not further identified). [redacted] was working out "what we could do" and would be coming to New York on July 24, 1965. Jesse Gray further stated that [redacted] was having a little problem; that he ([redacted]) had to change the place he wanted for the meeting. He has to get another place because the first one is no longer available "for the 8th". Jesse Gray stated there was really nothing more to tell at the present time.

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Confidential Source Number 2 advised on November 20, 1958, that Jesse Gray had been organizer for the Harlem Region of the Communist Party, but this position terminated during November, 1958.

Confidential Source Number 3 advised on January 24, 1964, that according to William L. Patterson, Chairman of the New York District Communist Party, Jesse Gray is no longer a member of the Communist Party but is friendly to the CP.

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A characterization for [redacted] [redacted] is included in the Appendix under Labor-Negro Vanguard Conference.

A characterization of the Labor-Negro Vanguard Conference is contained in the Appendix attached hereto.

- 2 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Organization for Black Power

APPENDIX

1.

LABOR-NEGRO VANGUARD CONFERENCE
Formerly known as the
Labor-Negro Vanguard Party,
also known as
Labor Vanguard Democrats

In a press release dated November 18, 1961, the
LABOR-NEGRO VANGUARD PARTY (LNVP) stated:

"The growing influence of the irredentist
forces upon the policies of our nation as indicated by
the alarming drift towards war and the outlawing of
the Communist Party (CP) has accentuated the need for all
racial, progressive, and liberal forces to unite in a
common party."

In a leaflet entitled, "Call to Progressive
Minded America," issued by the LNVP, its founding
convention was scheduled for November 25, 1961, in
New York City. The aims and purposes were listed as:

1. For the resurgence of the American Labor
Movement.
2. For the winning of the struggle for Negro
rights.
3. For an end of the cold war.
4. For economic security and higher mass
living standards.
5. For the end of the exploitation of man
by man.

- 3 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Organization for Black Power

APPENDIX (Cont'd)

2.

A source advised on December 19, 1961, that [redacted] is considered the Provisional Chairman of the LNVP. Other active members include [redacted]

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[redacted], [redacted], and [redacted].

A second source advised on December 12, 1959, that [redacted], [redacted] [redacted]

[redacted] and [redacted] were all members of the HARRIET TUBMAN Section of the Essex County, New Jersey, CP which was expelled from the Party with no right of appeal by action of the 17th National Convention, CP, USA, being held December 10-13, 1959.

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On January 15, 1963, the first source advised that the LNVP is now using the name LABOR-NEGRO VANGUARD CONFERENCE (LNVC) and is the name the organization is now known by and under which name all leaflets are issued.

The May 2, 1965, issue of the "Newark Evening News", a daily Newark, New Jersey, newspaper, contained an article that the Labor Vanguard Democrats, running an insurgent slate in the June 1, 1965, Democratic Primary opened their official Campaign May 1, 1965, with a "May Day Rally" in Military Park at Newark.

[redacted] headed the Labor Vanguard Democrat ticket as candidate for Governor of New Jersey. Other candidates on the ballot were [redacted] of Newark, candidate for Assembly; [redacted] of East Orange, candidate for Freeholder; and ALVIN OLIVER of Newark, candidate for Essex County Clerk.

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On May 18, 1965, a third source advised that the LABOR-NEGRO VANGUARD CONFERENCE had been inactive

- 4 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Organization for Black Power

3.

APPENDIX (Cont'd)

for about seven months until [] and [] stimulated the current political activity under the designation of Labor Vanguard Democrats.

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- 5 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

Date: 7/27/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-3022)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (157-1469)

SUBJECT: ORGANIZATION FOR BLACK POWER
RACIAL MATTER
(OO: New York)

Enclosed for the Bureau and offices listed are copies of LHM on above case. Confidential sources referred to in attached LHM are identified as follows:

#1 NY 4596-S*
#2 [redacted]
#3 [redacted]

b7D

Attached LHM is classified "~~Confidential~~" to protect above sources. Unauthorized disclosure of information attributed to these sources might impair their future effectiveness and such impairment could have an adverse effect on the national defense interests.

- 4 - Bureau (Encls. 8) (RM)
(1 - 100-442529) (CIRM)
- 2 - Newark (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Washington Field (157-583) (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Philadelphia (157-1508) (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago (157-678) (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Baltimore (157-948) (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Cleveland (157-393) (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Detroit (157-958) (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Cincinnati (157-628) (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-91911) (JESSE GRAY) (#42)
- 1 - New York (100-153735) (CIRM) (#42)
- 1 - New York

VJA:ggr
(24)

100-153735-1684

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JUL 27 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]

NY 157-1469

Offices receiving copies of this communication who have sources within the Organization for Black Power (OBP) or who furnish information concerning it, are requested to contact such informants to determine if they have information concerning a forthcoming meeting of the OBP, possibly on the 8th of August; also if they have knowledge as to the location of this meeting place.

Offices are also requested to review their case files on the OBP to determine if the identity of is readily available.

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Copies of attached LHM are being disseminated locally to G-2 and Secret Service, New York City.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (100-153735)

DATE: 7/28/65

FROM : SA [redacted]
SUFFERN RA

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SUBJECT: CIRM
IS - C

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Re: [redacted] and Spouse, [redacted]

Re memo of SA JOHN C. SEATON, #42, dated 7/20/65,
FD 203.

On 7/23/65, [redacted], Clerk, Credit
Bureau of Rockland County, 74 North Broadway, Nyack, NY,
furnished the following information to the writer:

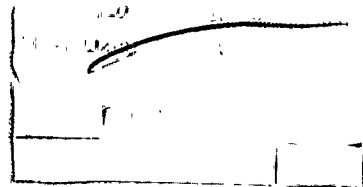
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b7D

Credit files contained a notation dated June 25,
1964, which revealed [redacted] and his spouse, [redacted],
then resided on [redacted] NY. A notation
dated September, 1961, revealed that they formerly resided
at [redacted], New City, NY, and they had been
at that address, at that time, for 2 years. A notation in the
credit file dated December, 1963, indicated, at that time,
[redacted]' employment had been verified with the NYC Board
of Education at Public School [redacted] located in Manhattan, NY,
where he served as the [redacted] of the school and
he earned [redacted] per year. The notation revealed he had
been employed there for 6 years and he was a permanent employee.
A notation in November, 1963, revealed [redacted] was employed
by Meyer, Veck and Prio, Attorneys, in Suffern, NY. A notation
dated December, 1963, revealed that the [redacted] resided on
[redacted], NY. The report indicated they had
[redacted] children. A notation in the file revealed that as of
April 25, 1962, [redacted] and [redacted] had a mortgage with the
Tapanzee Bank in the amount of [redacted] for property located
in [redacted], NY. It is noted that [redacted], NY, is located
in the [redacted] NY.

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GWT:kpm
(1)

100-153735-1685



NY 100-153735

[redacted] said that the file was satisfactory and it contained no judgments or derogatory information pertaining to the [redacted].

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The current telephone directory for Rockland County revealed [redacted], NY, telephone number [redacted].

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On 7/23/65, the writer checked records of Motor Vehicles located at Police Radio Station, Rockland County Sheriff's Department, New City, NY, which revealed the following:

[redacted] registered a 1963 Volkswagen Sedan, color - white, on 1/12/65, and was issued license tag [redacted]. His address, at that time, was given as [redacted], NY. Also registered was a 1959 Chevrolet Sedan, color - red, registered on 1/12/65, to [redacted], having [redacted]. Her employment was listed as [redacted], New City, NY. Her address was listed the same as that of [redacted].

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The current telephone directory for Rockland County revealed [redacted], having offices at 20 Main St., New City, NY, telephone NE 4-4637. His residence was given as [redacted], New City, NY, telephone number [redacted].

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On 7/23/65, [redacted], Postmaster, USPO, Palisades, NY, furnished the following information to the writer:

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[redacted] advised that she is acquainted with [redacted] and his [redacted], who reside on [redacted] in [redacted], NY. She advised that [redacted] was [redacted].

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b7C
b7D

NY 100-153735

formerly known as [redacted] and any reference to [redacted] and [redacted] are synonymous. [redacted] [redacted] said that the [redacted] are presently on vacation in Oregon and they expect to be gone the entire summer. She advised that until the end of the school year [redacted] [redacted] continued his employment with the NYC Board of Education in NYC, and [redacted] continued to be employed by an unknown attorney. [redacted] said that she had a change of address which instructed her to send mail until the end of July, 1965, in care of [redacted] [redacted], Oregon. [redacted] said that her instructions were to hold any mail after July, 1965, as the subject would be unavailable until returning home at about the end of August or the first of September, 1965.

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[redacted] said that the subject had resided in the area about 2 years, formerly residing at [redacted] [redacted], New City, NY.

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b7D

F B I

Date: 7/28/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____ REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK

SUBJECT: THE DR. IRVING W. WINIK MEMORIAL FUND
IS-C
(OO: Washington Field)

COMINFIL MEDICAL COMMITTEE FOR
HUMAN RIGHTS, INC.,
IS-C; RACIAL MATTERS
(Bufile 157-2883)
(NY File 100-155515)
(WFO File 157-568)
(OO: New York)

CIRM
IS-C
(Bufile 100-442529)
(NY File 100-153735)
(WFO File 100-43710)
(OO: New York)

ReWFOairtel dated 6/30/65, captioned as above.

- 5 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Jackson (INFO) (RM)
- 3 - Washington Field (100-44291) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-153735) (41) (CIRM)
- 1 - New York (100-155515) (41)

RFM:rmp
(12)

100-153735-1686

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUL 28 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Director

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

NY 100-155515

[redacted], [redacted] to Director, Delta Ministry, National Council of Churches (NCC), advised SA RAYMOND F. MOHR on 7/28/65, NCC here does not have any information re, nor do they sponsor, The Dr. Irving W. Winik Health Center. She recalls a brochure re The Center which came to NCC's attention earlier in the year, which from description is probably identical to photostatic copy attached to WFO airtel dated 4/23/65. She advised that this brochure has since been destroyed. b6 b7c

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Birmingham, Alabama
July 29, 1965

RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

The "Birmingham News" for Wednesday, July 28, 1965, carried a story on page 11 which stated that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference would hold its Ninth Annual Convention in Birmingham August 9-13, 1965, with more than 1,000 delegates expected to attend. The article said that this is the second SCLC Convention to be held in Birmingham in three years. This article further stated that the SCLC's Executive Board Meeting would be held on August 10. Mrs. CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY, President of Manhattan Burroughs in New York City, will be a banquet speaker on Monday night, August 9. Mrs. ROSA PARKS of Montgomery, Alabama, whose refusal to move to a rear seat on a bus, touched off the long Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott, will be honored, according to this story. The article stated also that Chief S. O. ADEBO of Nigeria, permanent ambassador to the United Nations, and Dr. MORDECAI JOHNSON, former Howard University president, will speak at the first of three city-wide mass meetings at 8:00 p.m., Tuesday, August 10. The theme of the convention is "Human Rights, Basic Issues, the Grand Alliance." The article stated that [redacted] of Birmingham, convention coordinator and SCLC second vice-president, will preside over the initial Tuesday night mass meeting.

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Birmingham Confidential Informant T-1, on July 28, 1965, furnished a copy of the Ninth Annual Convention Program of the SCLC which reads as follows:

"NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION PROGRAM
AS OF JULY 21, 1965

"Monday, August 9, 1965

1:00 P.M. Registration, L. R. Hall, Gaston Building

Searched _____
Serialized _____
Indexed _____
Filed _____

100-153735-1688

SEARCHED _____ INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____ FILED _____
AUG 1 1965
FBI - BIRMINGHAM

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RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

2:00 P.M. Board Meeting, Thomas Jefferson
5:00 P.M. Adjournment
8:00 P.M. Rosa Parks Testimonial, Redmont Hotel
Toastmaster: [REDACTED] b6
Invocation: b7C
Solo:
Greetings: [REDACTED] Business Community
Solo:
Introduction of Speaker:
Attorney [REDACTED]
Address: Mrs. Constance Motley
Citation: Mrs. Septima Clark
Honoree: Mrs. Rosa Parks
Benediction:

Tuesday, August 10, 1965

9:00 A.M. Registration
9:00 A.M.-4:00 P.M. Board Meeting, Thomas Jefferson Hotel
8:00 P.M. OFFICIAL OPENING OF CONVENTION
City Wide Mass Meeting
Presiding: [REDACTED]
Invocation: Rev. John Cross

RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Special Music:

Greetings: Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth
(Host)

Bishop E. P. Murchison
(CME)

b6
b7c

Offering:

Music:

Introduction of Speaker:
Dr. L. D. Reddick

Address: Ambassador Adebo
(Nigeria)

Announcements:

Music:

Introduction of Speaker:

Address:

Recognition of Special Guest

Benediction:

Wednesday, August 11, 1965

C. K. Steele, First Vice-President, Presiding

9:00 A.M. Registration

9:30 A.M. Opening of Sessions

9:45 A.M. Devotions:

10:00 A.M. Presidents Annual Report Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

11:00 A.M.	Reports <u>form</u> Affiliates	[REDACTED]
12:00 A.M.	Keynote Address:	[REDACTED]
1:00 P.M.	Lunch	
2:00 P.M.	Panel (Open to Press and Delegates)	Randolph Blackwell, Chairman
3:00 P.M.	Workshops	SCLC Programs by Department
5:30 P.M.	Adjournment	
8:00 P.M.	City Wide Mass Meeting	
	Presiding:	[REDACTED]
	Invocation:	Rev. Abraham Woods
	Greetings:	NAACP, [REDACTED] National Catholic Council- [REDACTED]
	Special Music:	
	Offering:	
	Special Music:	
	Introduction of Speaker:	Rabbi Lley Vel
	Address:	
	Citations:	[REDACTED]
		Affiliate Awards
	Introduction of Speaker:	Mr. Cleveland Robinson
	Address:	Mr. Ralph Helstein
	Announcements:	
	Benediction:	

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RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Thursday, August 12, 1965

[redacted] Fourth Vice-President, Presiding

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b7c

9:00 A.M. Registration

9:30 A.M. Devotions:

10:00 A.M. Panel

[redacted]
'Visions of Things
to Come'
Rev. Ralph Abernathy,
Chairman

Participants:

Mr. Bayard Rustin

[redacted]
Rev. James Bevel

12:00 Noon Introduction of Speaker:

Address:

Dr. Keyserling

1:00 P.M. Lunch

2:00 P.M. Panel:

3:00 P.M.

5:30 P.M. Adjournment

8:00 P.M. City-Wide Mass Meeting - City Auditorium

Presiding:

Greetings:

Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth

Offering:

Rev. Ralph Abernathy

Music:

Rosa Parks Award:

Honorees:

[redacted]
Rev. James [redacted]
Bevel

Benediction:

RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Friday, August 13, 1965

[REDACTED], Third Vice-President, Presiding

9:30 A.M.	Devotions:	[REDACTED]
10:00 A.M.	Business Session	
10:30 A.M.	Panel	
	Participants:	[REDACTED] Chairman [REDACTED] Mr. Hosea Williams
12:00 Noon	Annual Conference Sermon:	Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr.
1:00 P.M.	Official Closing	Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr."

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With reference to some of the individuals mentioned in the Annual Convention program set out above, the following should be noted:

[REDACTED]:

It is noted that the official program for the Eighth Annual Convention of the SCLC held at Savannah, Georgia, October 18, 1964, identified [REDACTED] Atlanta, Georgia, as assistant to the President of SCLC.

[REDACTED]:

A prominent Birmingham, Alabama, Negro businessman and Civic leader.

Mrs. CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY:

This individual is an attorney for the NAACP.

RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

[REDACTED] Nashville, Tennessee:

Listed in Eight Annual Convention program of SCLC
as Second Vice-President of this organization.

Rev. FRED SHUTTLESWORTH:

President of Alabama Christian Movement for Human
Rights, a pro-integration organization.

Dr. L. D. REDDICK:

LAWRENCE DUNBAR REDDICK is Professor of Social Sciences
at Coppin State College, Baltimore, Maryland. He currently
resides at 3704 Winterbourne Road, Baltimore.

On September 17, 1943, BH T-2 advised that Dr. REDDICK,
who was then director of Schomburg Library, was one of the
most important unpublicized members of the Communist Party.
T-2 said that REDDICK seemed to be a source of information
in regard to Socialism and Communism in the United States and
the Soviet Union.

BH T-3 advised on March 23, 1951, that he met LAWRENCE
DUNBAR REDDICK in 1943 through EUGENE GORDON, a staff member
of the "Daily Worker" and that both GORDON and BENJAMIN J.
DAVIS advised him that LAWRENCE DUNBAR REDDICK, at that time,
was a member of the Communist Party. T-3 also said that REDDICK,
at that time, was an instructor at the George Washington Carver
School.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist
newspaper which suspended publication on January 13, 1958.
The George Washington Carver School has been designated by the
U. S. Attorney General pursuant to the Executive Order 10,450.

[REDACTED]
BH T-4 advised in November, 1947, that [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] was a member of the Community Section of the Communist
Party in Peoria, Illinois. On June 24, 1948, T-4 advised that
[REDACTED] had not been active in Communist Party affairs in

RE: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

the Peoria area for some time and advised he had not been in the area for a long period of time.

RANDOLPH BLACKWELL

BH T-5 advised on February 26, 1953, that RANDOLPH BLACKWELL had been a member of the Communist Party in the District of Columbia.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12-30-2011



*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Birmingham, Alabama
July 29, 1965

Title	COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNISM
Reference	Birmingham letterhead memorandum dated 7-29-65.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FBI

Date: 7-29-65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : Director, FBI (100-438794)
FROM : SAC, Birmingham (157-115) (P)
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF
THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
IS - C

ReBulet to Birmingham dated 7-15-65.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 copies of a letterhead memorandum and one copy each to offices receiving copies of this communication.

This letterhead memorandum has been disseminated locally to military intelligence agencies.

- 3 - Bureau (RM) (Enc. 8)
- 1 - Atlanta (info) (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Baltimore (info) (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Cincinnati (info) (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Cleveland (info) (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Charlotte (Info) (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Dallas (info) (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Detroit (info) (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Jackson (info) (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Jacksonville (info) (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Knoxville (info) (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Little Rock (info) (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Louisville (info) (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Memphis (Enc. 1) (info) (RM)
- 1 - Mobile (Enc. 1) (info) (RM)
- 1 - Miami (Enc. 1) (info) (RM)
- 1 - New York (Enc. 1) (info) (RM)
- 1 - New Orleans (Enc. 1) (info) (RM)
- 1 - New Haven (Enc. 1) (info) (RM)
- 1 - Newark (Enc. 1) (info) (RM)
- 1 - Richmond (Enc. 1) (info) (RM)
- 1 - Savannah (Enc. 1) (info) (RM)
- 1 - WFO (Enc. 1) (info) (RM)
- 3 - Birmingham (b7D.)
(2 - 157-115)
(1 - [redacted])

CBS:ral
(28)

100-153735-1689

100-147194

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
AUG 1 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

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b7C

Approved: EJI/Ry Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

BH 157-115

T-1 is [redacted]

b7D

b6
b7C
b7D

T-2 is [redacted], [redacted] New York
City (concealed by request).

T-3 is LOUIS F. BUDENZ (concealed by request).

T-4 is [redacted].

b7D

T-5 is [redacted].

b7D

File-Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

Atlanta AT 9 LHM 7/29/65

*"CIRM"
"COMINFIL SCLC"*

048-16-83475-1 GPO

File 100-153735 ^{1690 9} ₁₆₉₁ Date 5/10/77
Class. Case No. Last Serial

Pending Closed

Serial No. Description of Serial Date Charged

Serial sent to Bureau, per Bu-
airtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,
titled; Bernard S. Lee v.
Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.
BuFile 62-117194c

Employee

RECHARGE

Date _____

To _____ From _____

Initials of Clerk

{ _____

Date

{ _____

Date Charged

Employee

Location

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
M E M O R A N D U M

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 7/29/65

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C
(OO:NY)

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE UTILIZED IN CONNECTION WITH ANY HANDLING OR REPORTING OF THE INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE. SINCE THE INFORMATION BY ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY THIS SOURCE, IT SHOULD BE COMPLETELY PARAPHRASED IF FOUND NECESSARY TO BE SET FORTH IN ANY REPORT FOR DISSEMINATION.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are three copies of an informant's statement dated July 20-21, 1965, containing information orally furnished on July 20-21, 1965, by CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SA WALTER A. BOYLE. This information was reduced to writing on July 26, 1965, and the original report is maintained in CGfile A)134-46-9243.

Also enclosed herewith for the Bureau and New York is one copy each of the following two documents which are mentioned herein as subjects of discussion. The draft outline of the new Party program discussed herein has been previously furnished to the Bureau. Copies are retained in the 1-A exhibit of the appropriate subsections of the CP, USA file in the Chicago Office:

- 1) "An Approach to a Resolution on the Negro Question" prepared by JAMES JACKSON;
- 2) "Outline for a Draft Labor-Policy Resolution" prepared by CARL WINTER.

*attached to
Serial*

CG 5824-S* advised that there was a wide difference of opinions expressed by participants at the National Board meeting.

WAB:MDW
(see page ii for dissemination)

100-153735-1692

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUL 30 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Walter A. Boyle

CG 100-33741

Copies:

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 5) (RM)
 - (1 - 100- (Washington Summer Action Project)
- 2 - Baltimore (RM)
 - (1 - 100-12076 (GEORGE MEYERS)
 - (1 - 100- (CP, Maryland District - Organization)
- 2 - Boston (RM)
 - (1 - 100- ([redacted]) (ph)
 - (1 - 100-20779 (CP, New England District - Organization)
- 2 - Buffalo (RM)
 - (1 - 100- (IRVING GOFF)
 - (1 - 100- (CP, New York State - Organization)
- 5 - Cleveland (RM)
 - (1 - 100-1207 (PHIL BART)
 - (1 - 100-17257 (CP, Ohio District - Organization)
 - (1 - 100-17262 (CP, Ohio District - Youth Matters)
 - (1 - 100- (CP, Ohio District - Membership)
 - (1 - 100- (W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America)
- 2 - Detroit (RM)
 - (1 - 100-8482 (TOMMY DENNIS)
 - (1 - 100-2050 (CP, Michigan District - Organization)
- 2 - Los Angeles (RM)
 - (1 - 100-4486 (DOROTHY HEALEY)
 - (1 - 100-26044 (CP, Southern California District - Organization)
- 3 - Newark (RM)
 - (1 - 100- (CP, New Jersey District - Organization)
 - (1 - 100- (CP, New Jersey District - Youth Matters)
 - (1 - 100- (CP, New Jersey District - Education)
- ④7 - New York (Enc. 2) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-80641 (CP, USA - Organization)
 - (1 - 100-89590 (CP, USA - Strategy in Industry)
 - (1 - 100-89691 (CP, USA - Domestic Administration Issues)
 - (1 - 100-86624 (CP, USA - International Relations)
 - (1 - 100-80644 (CP, USA - Youth Matters)
 - (1 - 100-80633 (CP, USA - Education)
 - (1 - 100-80638 (CP, USA - Membership)
 - (1 - 100-81675 (CP, USA - Pamphlets and Publications)
 - (1 - 100-153735 (CIRM)
 - (1 - 100-80532 (HERBERT APTHEKER)
 - (1 - 100-9369 (TED BASSETT)
 - (1 - 100-25623 (ERIC BERT)

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(see page iii for additional dissemination)

CG 100-33741

47 - New York (Enc. 2) (RM) (Con't.)

(1 - 100- [redacted])
(1 - 100-56 (MIKE DAVIDOW)
(1 - 100-93665 [redacted])
(1 - 100-13483 (BETTY GANNETT)
(1 - 100-13472 (GIL GREEN)
(1 - 100-84994 (GUS HALL)
(1 - 100-7658 (LEM HARRIS)
(1 - 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON)
(1 - 100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON)
(1 - 100-105078 (HYMAN LUMER)
(1 - 100-13204 [redacted])
(1 - 100-84275 (WILLIAM L. PATTERSON)
(1 - 100-48033 (IRVING POTASH)
(1 - 100-128255 [redacted])
(1 - 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL)
(1 - 100- [redacted])
(1 - 100- [redacted])
(1 - 100-27452 (ROBERT THOMPSON)
(1 - 100-15946 (JIM TORMEY)
(1 - 100-26018 (LOUIS WEINSTOCK)
(1 - 100-9595 (WILLIAM WEINSTONE)
(1 - 100-269 (HENRY WINSTON)
(1 - 100-27539 (CARL WINTER)
(1 - 100- (HELEN WINTER)
(1 - 100-141170 [redacted])
(1 - 100-141914 [redacted])
(1 - 100- (CP, USA - Brief)
(1 - 100- (CP, USA - Farm Matters)
(1 - 100- (World Peace Council, Helsinki, Finland, 7/65)
(1 - 100- (Women Strike for Peace)
(1 - 100- (SANE)
(1 - 100- (Hall-Davis Defense Committee)
(1 - 100- (Emergency Civil Liberties Committee)
(1 - 100- (ACPFB)
(1 - 100- (Teach-In, New York, 9/17/65)

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2 - Philadelphia (RM)

(1 - 100- [redacted] (LNU), Negro female from Philadelphia)
(1 - 100- (CP, Eastern Pennsylvania District-Organization)

5 - San Francisco (RM)

(1 - 65-1242 (MICKEY LIMA)
(1 - 61-415 (AL RICHMOND)
(1 - 100-27747 (CP, Northern California District-Organization)
(1 - 100- (W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America)
(1 - 100- (Welfare Rights Organization)

WAB:MDW

(see page iv for additional dissemination)

CG 100-33741

4 - WFO (RM)

- (1 - 100- (CP, USA - Organization)
- (1 - 100-44434 (Washington Summer Action Project)
- (1 - 100- (Women for Peace)
- (1 - 100- (Washington Action - Politics for Peace)

16 - Chicago

- (1 - A)134-46-9243)
- (1 - 100-18953 (CP, Illinois District - Organization)
- (1 - 100-3470 (MORRIS CHILDS)
- (1 - 100-12890 (EARL DURHAM)
- (1 - 100-20289)
- (1 - 100-41324 (CIRM)
- (1 - 100-41353 (Ad Hoc Committee)
- (1 - 100-19431 (CP, Illinois District - Strategy in Industry)
- (1 - 100-17506 (SID LENS)
- (1 - 100-40903 (SDS)
- (1 - 100-34435 (SANE)
- (1 - 100-39136 (Women for Peace)
- (1 - 100-19491 (CP, Illinois District - Domestic Administration Issues)
- (1 - 100-34438 (CP, Illinois District - Mass Organizations)
- (1 - 100-42044 (Washington Summer Action Project)

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WAB:MDW
(95)

CG 100-33741

He expressed the opinion that they will be fighting about the contents of the Party program for months to come. Of course, this first rough draft of the program was not adopted nor were any other reports adopted on those matters having to do with the Party's position such as the reports on labor and the Negro situation. The documents (Party program and the documents enclosed herewith) will serve as the basis for discussion to enlarge the program and/or become resolutions at the time of the Party's convention, still planned for the end of this year.

The basic arguments are related to the role of the working class in the American class struggle, and this includes the trade unions and the role of the Party. The differences are between GUS HALL and his followers and GIL GREEN, BOB THOMPSON, DOROTHY HEALEY, and some others.

There was also a fight on the interpretation by BOB THOMPSON in his report on Vietnam in which he stated that there is a "new pattern" in relations in the international communist movement. THOMPSON stated that at the Helsinki Peace Conference the Chinese had voted with the rest, including the Russians, for the final resolution on Vietnam. This was in contradiction to the report delivered by HERBERT APTHEKER on the Helsinki Peace Conference. According to APTHEKER, THOMPSON's statement was not true; the Chinese merely did not vote against the resolution but did not vote for it. APTHEKER's report did not indicate any fundamental change in the relations as intimated by THOMPSON.

This report by THOMPSON was late in the day and was merely to be informational and so there was no discussion of it at the meeting. CG 5824-S* stated that in a private talk with HALL he learned that at a meeting of the CP, USA Secretariat early the next morning THOMPSON had been challenged on this subject. CG 5824-S* asked HALL how he had answered THOMPSON. HALL replied, "I took his pants off and I will do some more of it later this month."

July 20-21, 1965

A meeting of the National Board of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), plus a number of invited guests, was held from July 16-19, 1965, at the Park-Sheraton Hotel, West 56th Street and Seventh Avenue, New York City. Among those observed in attendance were the following who, unless it is noted to the contrary, were present at all sessions:

HERBERT APTHEKER	July 17, 1965, only
PHIL BART	Not observed July 19, 1965
TED BASSETT	July 17, 1965, only
ERIC BERT	
MORRIS CHILDS	
<input type="text"/>	July 19, 1965, only
MIKE DAVIDOW	
TOMMY DENNIS	Not observed July 19, 1965
EARL DURHAM	July 17 and morning session of July 18, 1965, only
<input type="text"/>	July 19, 1965, only
BETTY GANNETT	July 16 and July 17, 1965, only
IRVING GOFF	
GIL GREEN	
GUS HALL	
DOROTHY HEALEY	

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[REDACTED]

JIM JACKSON

ARNOLD JOHNSON

MICKEY LIMA

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HY LUMER

GEORGE MEYERS

[REDACTED]

July 19, 1965, only

BILL PATTERSON

IRVING POTASH

AL RICHMOND

[REDACTED]

JACK STACHEL

Not observed July 18,
1965

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

BOB THOMPSON

Not observed July 19,
1965

JIM TORMEY

LOU WEINSTOCK

WILL WEINSTONE

Afternoon session of
July 18 and July 19,
1965, only

[REDACTED]

HENRY WINSTON

HELEN WINTER

[redacted]

July 18, 1965, only

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[redacted]

[redacted] (last name
unknown)

A Negro female from
Philadelphia; not
observed July 16, 1965

First Session, Friday, July 16, 1965

The Chairman of the first session, which was held on July 16, 1965, was PHIL BART. He announced the proposed agenda for discussion (which was not strictly adhered to) as follows:

- 1) Rough outline of the Party program;
- 2) An outline for a trade union resolution;
- 3) The Negro struggles;
- 4) Struggle against poverty;
- 5) Vietnam developments;
- 6) The McCarran Act;
- 7) Youth and the "Summer Project,"

GUS HALL was the first speaker who introduced the discussion of the rough outline of the new Party program which had been previously sent to the districts. HALL indicated that he would begin by touching upon some questions of approach and manner of discussion of the program outline and then continued as follows:

This is the most difficult task of the Party in recent times and it will take a lot of Marxist intelligence to get this finished. The discussion will constitute a test of our leadership. This can be the process which will show the growth of the Party leadership and establish our leadership on a new plateau, or it can become a block to the development of the Party.

Naturally, as of now, there is no collective, unified position concerning this subject. Naturally, there will be differences--we should not panic just because there are some differences. This is not unusual and we must not let it get out of hand. Therefore, we need a responsible type of discussion both for each individual and for the collective. We should avoid subjectivity and unwarranted "inferences." There must be no private campaign for a particular position. This discussion must be in a highly intelligent manner without bickering or invective.

We will be discussing new areas and, therefore, there can be no advanced positions. Basing myself upon my experience within the Secretariat when this matter was discussed, I can say that it is possible that this discussion can get "hot." Let me emphasize that ideas are better than invectives. As of now, we have little experience in regard to this type or style of discussion. When we achieve a new "method of debate" then we can raise our leadership to a new level and achieve an excellent Party program.

By way of background about the program, let me comment as follows: There was a small subcommittee of five persons set up by the Secretariat to work on this project. The entire committee worked on this, but AL RICHMOND did most of the writing with the help of GIL GREEN. Some of the rest also participated. This "outline" is not a real draft of a program. It is not even a draft of positions. It is really a list of subjects upon which a program must be developed. It is not a political resolution. We will have and have now some resolutions. It is not a "political commentary of the times" as LENIN once said. The aim is to achieve a programmatic statement of the CP, USA. But this program is not just for our inner use; it is offered to the masses of the people and gives the reasons for the existence of the CP, USA. We should answer the question of a need for the CP in the United States to achieve these aims of the people.

This program must reflect the need for the Party and show the new developments in the world and class relations or changes in the United States. The program must reflect the basic ideological and political pillars upon which the Party rests. It must also reflect the position of other groups, but mainly it must show the unique communist position. The program must reflect our scientific concepts of society. We must show that these are the laws of social development that give a direction to the classes and class relations--this is fundamental and scientific.

From that understanding of the flow of society come our strategic concepts. We must show the inability of capitalism to solve social problems and that the capitalist society should not just be replaced by "another society" but by a "socialist society." This must be no mechanical concept of these social laws but rather a dialectical analysis. We take into account human factors in society and we take into account the new times. This separates us from other socialist groups such as the Socialist Labor Party, the Trotskyists, etc. They have a mechanical approach but we take a dialectical approach in regard to these laws and, therefore, we have a flexible tactical approach.

Next, is the consideration of the basic pillars of society and our position regarding classes. The root of the problem in the world movement is related to this problem and is also a challenge in the United States. The program therefore cannot be anything but firm regarding class relations and the working class as the pillar of society. We are the champions of the working class, its role, its problems, etc. When we do this we have a framework and can discuss the weaknesses and the strengths of the working class. We are not critics from the "outside" like the liberals.

On this fundamental basis we can be critical (not sweeping criticism) of trade union leadership. We must take pride in the achievements of our working class. The program must show the solution of the world situation and the results of automation. We must show the role of the working class as a part of the achievements of this country; that is, as fruits of mass struggles. In this way the working class stands in its proper perspective.

Our anti-monopoly development is a development of "struggle" against monopoly. Our program must give answers to those who are the victims of monopoly capitalism. In the struggle for democracy, economic well-being, Negro rights, etc., all are joined in this struggle even if it is the working class which leads in this fight. Socialism will be served by a multi- or all-class struggle against monopoly capitalism.

In this sense, there is a close relationship between socialism and anti-colonialism. The program should have some assessment of the "Left" and how it has developed in the trade unions, the peace movement, the civil rights movement, etc. The program should reflect the struggle for civil rights with special relation to the classes as an oppressed people and its relationship to the working class in its struggle for jobs,

political action, and democracy. In other words, it should picture the total relationship.

In regard to socialism in the United States, the program must give some outlook on how socialism will look in the United States. We need to be more detailed and concrete in regard to the question of peaceful transition. We will seek the most peaceful path possible, even if we can't give guarantees. This "seeking" applies to all mass struggles such as strikes, etc. We must convince the people that we will not seek violence.

We must find an answer concerning the negative developments or effects of socialist countries in the more industrialized countries. Socialism developed first in backward countries and also those with the least democratic backgrounds or traditions. An example is its development in "feudal" Russia. There should be no unnecessary criticism of existing socialist countries. We should place these differences rather in a positive way such as how we can improve our democracy and how socialism can do this in the United States.

It must be made clear that the democratic institutions in the United States were not developed by capitalism but rather were developed despite capitalism. The fact is that capitalism is reactionary. We must clarify our position on the role of bourgeois democracy. In regard to the role of United States imperialism and the right of self-determination, we must remember the reality in today's world that one-third of the world is socialist. We must show that the policy of peaceful coexistence is in the interest of our people.

The program writing commission has made several proposals: 1) that we organize the discussion, and 2) that we simultaneously complete writing the draft. If we do not do this, we will be working on it for twenty years. We should write on those things on which we agree.

I would suggest that we set up five commissions to work concretely on some areas and to state a Party position: 1) The working class, its role, status, etc.; 2) the "Left," its nature, etc.; 3) the correlation between socialism and ideology; 4) the nature of the United States Gov't; 5) the perspective in the civil rights struggle.

"Drafting and talking" is the aim. We also recommend that we start publishing articles on the program. "Political Affairs" should set up a special section in the magazine for this and also set up a pre-convention bulletin.

Again, how we conduct this discussion is most important-- it can be valuable or harmful. We should bear in mind that this will not be an official programmatic statement of CP, USA policy until it is adopted as such at a CP, USA convention which we still hope can be held before the end of this year. We hope that the draft of the proposed program can be completed in September and published during the Fall.

This ended HALL's opening comments.

In the discussion that followed, ERIC BERT indicated that he believed there were some areas where the rough outline is deficient. He believed it is deficient in the discussion on capitalism and on the role of the working class. He also expressed himself as against any conception that there is an "absolute democracy" someplace. According to BERT, this is unreal and is like HEGEL's "idea" concept. BERT suggested that the program should give a more specific attitude in regard to small business and a positive programmatic attitude on the farmer.

[redacted] suggested that GUS HALL's remarks should be prepared as an article to be published to open the discussion on the program.

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[redacted] then remarked that there were two areas in the draft program which he believed needed further treatment. These areas were: 1) the American path to socialism, and 2) the role of the Party. On the question of a "Party of socialism,"

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[redacted] contended that the program must state whether it is a CP based on Marxism-Leninism or a broader Party still based on Marxism-Leninism.

The next speaker in the discussion was JIM JACKSON who stated that he wished to associate himself with the statement that this rough outline is just the beginning of the writing of a program. He also agreed with HALL's remarks that this discussion can be an ideological "refueling" or renewal of the Party. JACKSON continued: As GUS has indicated, the primary and key problem to be assessed is the proposition that the working class is the main force for the social revolution. We have to

establish who is the working class and we must keep in mind the structural changes of the working class. [redacted] puts the poor in a non-class category. This deprecation of the working class only helps to confuse and helps the bourgeoisie. Democracy in the United States is only a mere formality--as practiced in the United States, it is actually brutal. b6 b7C

[redacted] next spoke as follows: Our program should spell out the material gains of socialism: abundance for everybody. We'd better have a "blueprint" or we will be considered evasive. In regard to the question of small businesses, in my opinion, there is no reason why we should have a mixed economy. Furthermore, we must state categorically that we will eliminate racial discrimination. Furthermore, we should have some statement on the role of people's organizations such as trade unions in socialism. b6 b7C

The next speaker was DOROTHY HEALEY who commented on the role of the working class. She indicated that even if they are participating as workers, nonetheless they are also participating as individuals. She indicated there is a lack of "class participation." She stated that the trade unions which are made up of workers are not the most advanced on the question of peace, etc. HEALEY polemicized against HALL's statements on the role of the working class and quoted LENIN on the bourgeoisification of the working class.

HY LUMER then entered the discussion: The central question is that of the class struggle and the anti-monopoly struggle. It must be made clear that the working class are "the grave diggers" of capitalism. There appears to be some confusion in regard to the multi-class struggle that has democratic aims and the class struggle for socialism. The working class plays its special role even within a coalition. More attention should be paid to monopoly capital and the role of the state so that it is clear that the state is an organ of the ruling monopolists.

AL RICHMOND then commented as follows: I don't know how I was suckered into the writing of the outline in the first place. Of course, the natural reaction would be to answer these objections and say you missed this point under section so and so on line this and that. But the outline has served its purpose. We are just beginning to discuss the program and the core of the problem which is the working class. The ideological struggle within the working class goes on and on.

GEORGE MEYERS then made the following remarks: There seems to be some confusion concerning classes and class relations. There is talk about the poor and the middle class but there is never talk about the working class. Also, we must erase the division between white and blue collar workers--they are all wage earners. Furthermore, I contend that the Negroes are "a people," not just a part of the working class as some are preaching.

BOB THOMPSON then remarked: The class struggle is the essence. But there is a struggle within the working class. The problem for years ahead will be the fight for peace against the aggressions and reactionary trend of the ruling class.

GIL GREEN then made the following comments: On the whole, while the discussion has been positive, nevertheless, it is "rough" on the rough draft. A lot more discussion is necessary. I recall that back in the 1930's we won the intellectual struggle and we called the shots. Although many people started out in hostility toward us, since life vindicated the communist outlook, they grudgingly agreed that we were correct. We must keep our eyes on reality and life and our eyes on the masses. We cannot lead by proposing generalities. But, at the same time, unless we want to write an encyclopedia, we cannot include everything. We must unite on the basis of the realities of today and how we are to progress to the next stages. In my view, these stages are liberal reform, radical reform, and still later social reform.

We have to give a lot of thought to the invasions of Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. Were these mistakes of individuals in the ruling class or did we expect this to happen? Where did we miss or make a mistake? I am of the opinion that we will not move out of this stage that we are in and avoid a nuclear war unless we can move labor. I cannot see the present situation as just another "new deal" which had another foreign policy. Today, the United States sees a challenge in the sweep of the anti-colonial revolution and its relation to socialism. As more revolutions occur in Latin America, the ruling class will react. But we cannot agree with the position of the "Monthly Review" that it is socialism vs reaction and war. We must give thought to how we can prevent new Vietnams.

The anti-monopoly struggle means that the main fire must be directed against the industrial-military complex. We must explain that you can't do anything against poverty or for

the Negro people if billions of dollars are being spent for war. We have a problem of how to move ahead and yet we cannot avoid the questions posed by the independents. We should not be put into the position of being the independents vs the mainstream. I believe it would be a mistake if we placed the struggle for democracy outside the struggle for socialism.

IRVING POTASH then made some comments: In general, I am in agreement with GUS HALL's introduction. I believe that the weakest thing in the rough draft is the failure to explain our relation to the working class. After all, this is a working class Party. Some comrades fall into the morass of the liberals who write off the working class and see a new "mythical" class as leaders.

HENRY WINSTON made a few brief comments: We are closer to writing a program than ever before. I agree that it would be useful to publish GUS HALL's remarks as an introduction for the discussion. Let us not forget that no matter what we speak about, we must never forget that we do it as a Marxist-Leninist Party.

GUS HALL then made some concluding remarks: I believe that a summary would be out of order in this discussion since this is the first survey and participation of this Board. I am very pleased with this discussion and believe that it could not have been more concrete. I have only a few remarks. On the question of "independence" and the "mainstream," I believe that our position should be both: "Independence within the mainstream." There is one general idea that I would like to put forward concerning concepts. Be on guard against watering down basic concepts and inadvertently watering down such things as the fight for democracy; or narrowing the struggle for peace to a struggle against imperialism; or narrowing down the struggle against imperialism to the struggle for socialism.

What further is there to do? I think we can set up more committees such as one on the farm question and one on youth. We should ask two or three of the top youth to formulate a position on youth. Before the end of this meeting, we will designate some commissions and I would like volunteers for some of these commissions.

This ended the first session.

Second Session, Saturday, July 17, 1965

The Chairman of the second session, which was held on July 17, 1965, at the same location, was MICKEY LIMA.

The first speaker was IRVING POTASH who began the discussion concerning the "Outline for a Draft Labor-Policy Resolution." POTASH stated as follows:

While this is only an "outline" on trade unions, nevertheless, there has been a lot of discussion on it. We have also talked to many trade unionists about its contents. Although CARL WINTER, who prepared this outline, is absent, I am sure he would not consider it as the "last word." Actually, there should be an accompanying legislative resolution, but I doubt this separate resolution idea will work out.

There are "stirrings" in the trade union movement. We must realize that it takes more to move workers than students. There is a groping to find the expression of the rank and file. There has been an increase in wildcat strikes, deep dissatisfaction with automation, and "settlement" of strikes. The workers want more than attrition agreements--they want future care.

We can note that the recent steel and IUE elections are reflections of dissatisfaction of workers with conditions in the industry and shops and, of course, they blame the leadership. There are voices of dissatisfaction in some of the trade unions in regard to the Vietnam and Dominican Republic policies of the United States Government. Do not underestimate the speeches of some of the leaders like MEANY and others on the peace issue, especially after the MEANY and DUBINSKY endorsement of government policies. There are deep grumblings in basic industry about hard work, the speed-up, and intensive exploitation. Although the men need the overtime money, they find it hard to keep going physically. Also, the feeling of insecurity is ever present because of the workers' increasing debt.

We should be aware of the significant differentiations between leaders and groups of unions. We can't just classify the CIO as "progressive" and the craft unions as "reactionary" because it just is not so. Even in the unions of skilled worker there are some unskilled. This is true in steel, electrical, auto, etc. We must take note of these differentiations and work out our program accordingly. There are some disagreements.

Not everyone agrees about these differentiations or that they can be utilized. Some do not consider these "differences" or as serious enough. I consider these differences as serious and to have inherent possibilities to move workers. Some people see only the positive side and fear that our criticism would negate our influence upon the workers. But we do need to criticize. MEANY and DUBINSKY, who are tools of CIA, should be criticized. The workers in the ILGWU suffer because of DUBINSKY's submission to the big boss and government. We must criticize these leaders and show their neglect of the workers' needs. Even some of the left publications treat these people, such as DUBINSKY, as "sacred cows." But the matter of how to criticize is important; there should be no vendetta; it must be serious criticism. We must disagree and criticize without repelling the rank and file or creating obstacles that would divide the Left and progressives.

Another point of disagreement is on Left or rank and file forms. Some say there is no need for these. I say that we need these forms to unite the Left and center on important problems such as automation, trade union democracy, etc. Of course, there is the danger of lapsing into factionalism, but this still does not do away with the need for alliances.

Some want a "national center" to give expression to the sentiments of the rank and file and the left. This is not a simple matter. We need to give this more careful thought. As we prepare for our convention, we should give thought to all of these ideas. We should give special thought to the idea expressed by Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING on the repeal of Section 14B of the Taft-Hartley Act and an alliance to organize the South. That is a pivotal question.

The outline of the resolution leaves out the question of socialism. We cannot leave this out. We are appealing to the workers as a CP. This ended POTASH's presentation.

LOU WEINSTOCK then commented that he agreed with most of what POTASH had to say but stated there was a need to spell out such things as "Jim Crow" contracts. He also indicated that they should not skip the ideas expressed in the article by SIDNEY LENS in "The Nation" on MEANY and LOVESTONE and the CIA. He thought there should be mention of the legality of communists in trade unions as a result of the victory expressed by the Supreme Court decision on [redacted]

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GIL GREEN was the next speaker in the discussion. This resolution contains many good things. But, it is like a department store. It has many counters and the reader must find what he wants. There is no line in the resolution. The following points should be made:

- 1) The working class is basic for a revolution.
- 2) Trade unions are the basic organization of the working class.
- 3) There can be no political change in the United States without the trade unions.
- 4) The labor movement does not play this role; it is full of contradictions and many workers are still unorganized.
- 5) Communists should not be separated from trade unionism.

To bring about a change in trade unions is the ideological work of the CP but this should be done from the bottom up and not from the top down. The concentration should be upon youth and upon organizing the unorganized.

After comments by several others, GUS HALL made the following comments: This is in many ways the most important resolution in preparation for the convention. We must give this work the status it requires in the CP. I agree with most of what has been said here but there are a few things that do bother me and that is how some of these problems were placed. The overall posture of the Party on labor has not been good. We must dispel the era of criticism and cynical criticism of the trade union movement in America. The attitude is an "ivory tower" attitude instead of saying this is "our working class." We never did evaluate the "misleaders of labor" approach.

is the chief offender. It is a fact that the liberal and left movement are criticizing the trade unions. What have we done to answer the attack on the working class and its organization? We act as if we are "neutral" instead of using the class approach. It appears that some people think it is a crime to draw some positive things from the trade union movement.

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The struggle against the ultra-right is a glorious page in the struggle of the trade union movement. Should we not take this positive pride and build on it? The ultra-right

wants to take over whole cities and states but labor has defeated them. We must get rid of this cynical approach of the liberals and the ultra-left. As to the question of Negro workers only acting like Negroes rather than in accordance with class needs--this is the wrong estimate of Negroes who are a part of a class. They are not mere "nationalists"; they are workers.

On the question of the ideological struggle within the working class--to even state this question is a step forward. But this problem is still often presented with the indication that the outcome is in doubt. The statement has been made that "trade union leadership is betraying the working class." But must we not ask is it not only a part of the leadership who are betrayers? The trade union leadership is not only MEANY. There are tens of thousands of trade union leaders. We must cut out this blanket condemnation of labor leadership and we must see the objective class role of the labor movement.

Too little about the working class appears in our press. When the rest of the paper is measured in the light of column, it gives a distorted picture of our views.

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About the political role of the trade union movement--it is not enough to say that objective conditions lead to a petty bourgeois ideology of workers.

What about the subjective struggle for ideology? There are objective conditions that make it possible for the working class to play its historic role.

After comments by several others, BOB THOMPSON stated that in his opinion the outline is not even a basis for resolution although the labor policy should be the central point in the Party program. The question of war and peace is the main thing and it is missing in the outline. He asked "Where is the fight against the intervention and war in Vietnam?"

During the ensuing discussion, AL RICHMOND indicated that he agreed with THOMPSON that the central point is the nature of United States imperialism and its war making.

Following some additional discussion, JIM JACKSON commented as follows: If we hold that we can force or influence a change in the national administration policy in regard to Vietnam, then it follows that we can change the

policies of trade union leaders such as MEANY, DUBINSKY, etc. As a matter of fact, we did change them in the past on the subject of Jim Crow. We must answer the concept of anti-ideology which is against all ideologies. This must be countered by a working class ideology which is Marxism-Leninism. We must come to grips with the question of how to align the struggle of Negroes for equality alongside the working class movement. White chauvinism remains even if it takes on more sophisticated forms.

IRVING POTASH then commented: This outline was thrown into this meeting with the discussion. We originally agreed that there were two major points to be stressed: peace and organization of the unorganized. POTASH then rebuked DOROTHY HEALEY and others who underestimate the working class; characterized that approach as liberalism, in a Marxist outlook. He also rebuked GIL GREEN on his negative approach to white collar workers.

At the conclusion of this discussion on the trade unions, the outline was referred back to the Secretariat to prepare a draft resolution. It was also decided to replace CARL WINTER in the preparation of this resolution in view of his absence on other matters.

At this point, HENRY WINSTON commented on the Negro resolution entitled, "An Approach to a Resolution on the Negro Question" which had been prepared by JAMES JACKSON and stated that it would be discussed at a later date although it was on the agenda for this meeting. He suggested that the districts send in their comments on this draft.

Also at the second session a report was delivered by HERBERT APTHEKER who had just returned from Helsinki, Finland, where he had attended the Congress of the World Peace Council. He had also attended a meeting of the communist delegates to the Conference which was held a few days prior to the Peace Conference. HERBERT APTHEKER made the following comments:

The Congress was held on July 10-15, 1965, in Helsinki, Finland, in an enormous hall. I might note that the CP in Finland has 38 members in their parliament.

Prior to the Peace Conference, there was a meeting of delegates from 21 CPs.

At the Peace Congress preparatory meeting the Chinese CP, with the aid of the Albanian CP, did everything possible to destroy the Congress and the Council altogether. When the

Chinese lost in their endeavors in the preparatory meeting, they wanted to conduct a filibuster against the holding of the Congress and they fought bitterly. When the South Vietnamese delegation had not as yet arrived during the first day's session of the preparatory meeting, the CP of China charged the Soviet Union with the responsibility for the absence of the South Vietnamese. The North Vietnam delegation defended the Soviet Union with the explanation that the Finnish Government rather than the Soviet Union was responsible for the temporary absence of the South Vietnam delegation at the first session. According to the North Vietnam delegation, the delay was due to the fact that the South Vietnamese did not have the necessary visas. Furthermore, the South Vietnam delegation was then en route to the meeting and would arrive in time for the second day's session.

The Helsinki Peace Conference was an outstanding success. The proceedings were highlighted by an address by the President of Finland, URHO KEKKONEN, and an address by the Premier of Finland. They both stressed peaceful coexistence. The Conference was attended by 1,450 delegates from 98 countries. The only country which did not send a delegation was Ireland. There were representatives from 18 international delegations; delegates from 14 African countries; 23 from Asia; and, 20 from Latin America. There were 96 persons from the United States. There were 1,200 men and 250 women. Forty-one of those in attendance were clergy. There were 15 ministers of state.

The speech for the United States delegation was delivered by CARLETON GOODLETT. All 96 United States delegates agreed on this speech and there was a tremendous ovation when he was finished. His speech, which was about the peace movement in the United States, had a line which the Chinese did not like. The ovation lasted for ten minutes and as a result even the Chinese stood up. In regard to the United States delegation, it was the most fully representative delegation since World War II. It included 22 women and representatives from the Quakers, Students for a Democratic Society, the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America, and SANE. There were not many CP members in the United States delegation.

There was some struggle on the resolutions of the Peace Conference. With respect to the resolution on Vietnam, the Chinese wanted one that sounded like a call to battle, like a war college plan. They wanted an attack on the United States as fascist, etc. However, the Chinese were defeated.

The difference between the Chinese and Vietnamese attitudes on the resolution was noteworthy. Whereas the Chinese were stubborn in their insistence on a resolution as suggested by them, the Vietnamese quickly removed from their suggested resolution belligerent language to which objection has been made.

While there was a general resolution on Vietnam, there was also a resolution on disarmament, the vestiges of war-like attitudes in Germany, etc. The resolution on peace, as officially adopted at the Conference, was not a "bloody one" and the Vietnamese were quite happy with it. The Chinese did not vote against the general peace resolution. Only the British abstained from voting because they look upon the World Peace Council as an "albatross." The British had a rather negative estimate of the Congress and there was also some of that samespirit among the Italians.

In regard to the United States delegation, the vote for the Vietnamese resolution was 59 for, 9 against, with 15 abstentions. The representatives from the Women Strike for Peace were there only as "observers" but they did vote for the resolution on implementation of the provisions of the Geneva Agreement.

The Helsinki Conference would not have been the success it was had it not been for the United States participation. Throughout the Congress feelings toward the United States peace movement were very warm. United States delegates were sought out by everyone, even by the Chinese. Of course, the role of the communist delegates was indispensable. It was most important that communists be present and honestly represented.

This was the end of APTHEKER's report.

Third Session, Sunday, July 18, 1965

TOMMY DENNIS was the Chairman of the third session which was held on July 18, 1965, at the same location.

The first speaker was HY LUMER who presented a report on the recent CP, USA "Summer Project" which was held at Camp Midvale, New Jersey.

LUMEN commented as follows: The Summer Project was the most important development in the Party in many years. It was a tremendous accomplishment. It was more than a school, it was an unprecedented school even in its size. Never before have we had this number which was 75. Bringing together such a large number also had a qualitative impact, not just because of the number but because these were young people of high caliber and very serious. We can be very proud of this accomplishment. The effect of the school was to create a sense of confidence in the Party and in its future. There is a great contrast between this situation and the situation in 1958 when we first started to gather the youth. The presence of these young people give lie to the press who have been stating that we are a Party of old people. Youth is finding itself on the way into the CP. The New York press is silent on this school and this is significant because the press who lied about the CP is exposed and embarrassed.

This project brought together Party leaders and youth. Those who came to the school feeling cynical about the Party leadership changed their minds. In addition, the "old" learned also. The students got a better understanding of the Party and the theoretical need for a CP. All who participated in the school were inspired. The committee which organized this school worked very hard and the teaching staff involved a good number of other people in Party leadership as teachers. Some of the students acted as teachers.

There were two sections in the school: civil rights and mass policy school. The organization of the school was based upon proposals from the youth commission and though limited served as a guide. In addition to regular classes, there were also lectures such as JAMES JACKSON on socialism; GUS HALL on socialist morality; CARL WINTER on trade unions; and Jack Stachel on Party history. There were some very important achievements since the school was based upon the students' desire and not upon compulsion.

The Party started somewhat late to organize this project. It was accomplished, but the hurried work showed itself in such areas as the study outlines and the organization of teachers. Another weakness was in the composition of the school: 9 from Southern California; 11 from Northern California;

3 from Oregon; 4 from Washington; 2 from Minnesota; 3 from Illinois; 4 from Michigan; 1 from Western Pennsylvania; 4 from Massachusetts; 2 from New Jersey; 18 from New York; 9 from Philadelphia; 3 from Connecticut.

There was a geographical weakness in that the Middle West should have had the largest representation. New York also should have had more. The districts did not do a serious job of mobilizing for this school. There was also some failures in communication between the districts and the national office; therefore, the national office also is to blame. There were only six Negro students and this is a serious weakness. There were too few working youth but were mainly student youth. This reflects a weakness in the composition of the young membership. Some in the districts thought this mammoth operation was not real and, therefore, they did not work too hard in the mobilization.

There were some weaknesses in the school itself. For example, there was not enough theory and there were not enough practical problems. In the future, we should do better. But from this school there are some lessons for the future. We will need more workshops and we should also give some advanced readings to the students before they come to the school. There should be a longer time for preparations and in the future we will allow six months.

The youth have now been sent out to the various cities and they have been assigned to various Party projects, particularly the formation of Du Bois Clubs. Now, it is up to the Party to follow through with respect to youth leadership training. Teacher training institutions should be set up and some of the lectures should be put in printed form as pamphlets. This will take months. Also, we are preparing an elementary textbook on Marxism-Leninism based in the United States. This was the end of LUMER's report.

The next speaker in the discussion was PHIL BART who commented upon the youth follow-up summer program in Ohio. He stated that their aim is to establish a youth organization in the district but that at the beginning of the summer there were only two youths in the Cleveland Party. There was also a need to establish a Du Bois Club in Cleveland. When these young people from the summer project came in they established relations with the Students for a Democratic Society and met with no conflict. They have now established a center in the Negro community of Cleveland. A reception was held to greet

the three youths who came to Cleveland which reception was also aimed at establishing the Du Bois Club in Cleveland. Seventy young people attended this meeting. These three are working full time and the expectation is that six more youths will be recruited into the Party as a result of their efforts.

MICKEY LIMA then delivered a report on the Party role in the war on poverty. He commented as follows: The poor in the urban area can be brought into political motion against the power structure. It is also a fact that racist practices compound this poverty situation. The CP can be rebuilt on the basis of work among the poor--Negro, Puerto Rican, white, Mexican, etc.--among the urban poor. We can do in this sphere what we did and are doing among the youth.

The Du Bois Clubs are acting as a service organization among the unemployed. There are now thirty Du Bois people working among these unemployed, giving answers and solving problems. There have been other organizations in the fight on poverty. For example, the Labor Committee for Full Employment; the Committee on Housing ([redacted] 's committee); and, the Welfare Rights Organization. The first two have been dissolved because of activities of the ultra-left but the Welfare Rights Organization has 400 members. This can be started any place where they have the same problems. There is also Youth for Jobs which is in need for more adult cadres. The Ad Hoc Committee composed mainly of students was involved in the fight for jobs. As a result of their activities, 1,500 jobs opened up for Negro workers. This organization has now been dismantled as a result of an inner-leadership fight.

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The Party must concentrate its attention and efforts on the war on poverty. There must be mass action and the Party cannot afford to take a negative attitude. The setting up of organizations to work in this area is still necessary, but these organizations must produce or they will be without effect. Old age is another arena in which the Party should become active. Demonstrative forms are still needed in trade unions and among the unemployed. There is a crisis in the cities as a result of urban renewal, etc., which can be exploited. Local defense organizations should be formed to bail out those Party people who as a result of their activities in the war on poverty might be jailed. Hundreds are being arrested as a result of such activities.

Despite weaknesses, we can rebuild the Party. There is resistance to rebuilding the Party but this can be done. After all, what are we in business for? The youth are doing the job because they are willing to talk to people, they work with them, and they are not held back by any preconceived idea of "difficulties." These students are getting results. If we do not build the Party, we will wear ourselves out.

After some discussion, GUS HALL made the following remarks: Originally, it was planned to invite those who are active in the war on poverty to this meeting, but it was then decided to use MICKEY LIMA's report instead. We are moving into a new economic phase characterized by a slowing down of the expansion of industry. This will have an explosive economic effect on the United States and will give a different meaning to the war on poverty. As the economic situation worsens, we will move from a "consensus" to a class struggle in the war on poverty. That is why the CP should formulate overall general economic demands. I don't believe we should worry too much about organizational forms--some organizations "go" and some organizations "go on."

We will work in all organizations. Also, we must use the clause in Title II of the war on poverty law in which the government allows money for the organization of the unemployed or the organization of the poor for jobs. While we did not believe it possible when the law was first enacted, some authorities are interpreting the law literally. Just remember that if an organization solves problems, people will join it.

HALL then made the following proposals:

1) That CP districts hold conferences on the poverty question made up of people who are in this work or who will join.

2) That a national conference on this be held in Chicago in October, 1965. This will include some CP leaders but mainly people involved in this work; i.e., the fight for jobs and the war on poverty.

3) That a popular pamphlet on poverty be prepared by an active person in this organization.

HALL continued: On recruiting into the CP, the youth have shown great boldness. At first I thought they were naive, but the youth have been successful in recruiting. In Ohio they

have shown that it can be done and they have even set a quota of six by August.

MICKEY LIMA then remarked: Recruiting is a big problem. Last year we did not even have students and the few we had were making no headway. Today, the situation is different. A great difference has been made as a result of the [redacted] case and the new victories for officers in trade unions. We must vigorously tackle the problem of recruiting.

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Following this discussion, the following proposals were made and carried:

- 1) In each district a conference on the war on poverty will be held to plan Party participation.
- 2) A national Party conference on the same subject will be held in Chicago in October, 1965.
- 3) LIMA's report at this meeting will be printed and disseminated to all districts.
- 4) The CP, USA Secretariat will prepare a newsletter to be disseminated to all districts to analyze the Party's work in mass organizations and provide an exchange of opinions and experiences between the districts as to how the Party can operate most successfully in mass organizations, particularly those engaged in the war on poverty.
- 5) A popular pamphlet should be issued on the war on poverty and this proposal was referred to the Literature Committee.
- 6) The September, 1965, issue of "Political Affairs" will concentrate on the poverty question.
- 7) A campaign will be pushed for MICKEY LIMA's book on poverty.
- 8) Special attention will be given to the Party's recruitment program in connection with the above-mentioned activities.

The next report was delivered by BOB THOMPSON on the subject of Vietnam based upon his recent travels and discussions abroad. In essence, this report was as follows:

The basis for these remarks is the content of meetings held recently with our Vietnamese comrades from both North and South Vietnam. Meetings were also held with Italian and British CP delegations who had traveled to Vietnam.

It should be understood that there is only one Party in Vietnam although there are distinct political organizations. In North and South Vietnam this is a highly developed Party, which was developed during the war against Japanese and French colonialists and now the war against the United States and its puppets, the Saigon regime. This Party has always been a mass Party, a leader of the people. They have developed a wide cadre.

This is an independent Party which is dedicated to its own people, its own country, and to Marxism-Leninism. While there are certain points of similarity of their position with the position of the Communist Party of China (CPC), the influence of the CPC can be explained by the fact of the reality of the proximity and size of China. Nevertheless, the Vietnamese Party does think independently, a fact which was amply demonstrated at the recent World Peace Congress in Helsinki, Finland.

Now, the obstructionism of the Chinese at the World Peace Congress is not new, but what is new is that the Chinese delegation voted for two resolutions along with the delegation of the Soviet Union. The pressure of the world communist movement and the influence of the Vietnamese comrades helped to bring this about and has now opened a new pattern in the relations of the Chinese and the rest of the world communist movement. Therefore, the fight for unity of action of the world movement has become more possible, even if the ideological problems are as yet unsolved. For example, the problem of the transit of supporting materials through China to Vietnam has now been solved to a greater degree than in the past.

Various divergencies can be observed between the positions of the Vietnamese and the Chinese; for example, their different positions on "modern revisionism," but there are also some similarities. An example is their joint adherence to the doctrine that men are superior to military technology, given a revolutionary situation. This grows out of their experience in national liberation movements. The Vietnamese have learned to fight against helicopters and aerial bombing and they believe they will win and are winning the war. But they also realize that the United States forces are holding

enclaves within South Vietnam and if the United States brings in enormous quantities of war material and are backed up by the United States fleet, the Vietnamese will not be able to push them into the sea. Nevertheless, they hold to their conviction that they will win. They are aware of the fact that the danger does exist that the war could become a nuclear war. So long as the war in Vietnam is considered in light of a "local" war, it makes sense; but as the war is related to world problems and nuclear war, it cannot be pursued in the present manner.

The National Liberation Front operates over four-fifths of the territory of South Vietnam in which area they exercise either complete or partial authority. Even during the midst of this war the National Liberation Front has brought about a rise in agricultural production and living standards. They have also developed a scattered light industry. Through the organization of an educational system, they have even lowered the illiteracy rate. The National Liberation Front is actually a full-fledged national operation in the areas of industry, agriculture, education, etc. This fact constitutes their appeal to the people of Vietnam, not reliance upon propaganda leaflets, etc. The people of Vietnam know this.

In respect to the National Liberation Front Army, it is still essentially a national liberation army. In some instances they do operate on a divisional or regimental level. The Vietnamese comrades do not deny that some South Vietnamese are trained in the North and then go back to the South to fight; but up to now, according to the Vietnamese comrades, there are no armies of North Vietnam fighting in the South. While they do have a high level of strategic planning in areas such as the central regions of South Vietnam, their execution of plans is still similar to that of a partisan army or guerrillas. They now have four or five support troops for each guerrilla fighter which is like an engineer and service corps. Their intelligence service is also highly sophisticated and they boast that "nothing moves in South Vietnam that we do not know about."

The South Vietnamese comrades' estimate of the military situation is that they are very far advanced in winning this war. The Saigon government is finished and cannot be rebuilt after the loss of four-fifths of the territory and the breakdown of their morale. They realize that the United States is sending in more troops but they claim that the French had 700,000 troops and were defeated by inferior guerrilla bands. Now, the Vietnamese have better fighters.

The Vietnamese expect that the United States involvement will increase and so will the bombings in North Vietnam. However, beyond the enclaves on the coast, the United States cannot revive Saigon. They characterize the bombing attacks on North Vietnam as brutal and savage and although well planned in this sense they have not as yet hurt Vietnam. However, if the City of Hanoi is bombed, this will change the qualitative character of the war. In that event, their response would be expressed in commitment of reserves, new armies, new weapons, etc.

The Vietnamese want aid from all the socialist world including both the Soviet Union and China, but they will make the decision as to how the war will be conducted. They want to avoid the use of their country as a testing ground for new weapons and they do not want millions of Chinese or other volunteers in Vietnam. If they have not yet used new weapons against the United States, it is because they wish to avoid provocations. They are "not shooting their mouths off" but they have plans for fighting the war in their own way. At this time they are holding back powerful reserves but if necessary they will fight this war on the ground; as yet they are not accepting the United States challenge in the air. If necessary, they can use forces from Laos and other countries and will get aid from North Korea. They realize that the United States has resisted escalation of the war because the North Vietnam reserves have not yet been committed.

The maneuverings of the United States to bring about a negotiated settlement has created some problems for the Vietnamese, but they are depending upon world forces to show the urgency of the situation, stop the escalation, and then they will be in a better position to create a better basis for negotiations on the basis of the Geneva Agreement. Although the Vietnamese recognize the new changes which have taken place in the Soviet Union, it is my estimate that they do not see fully the dangers of the world situation. However, the Vietnamese are not in a hurry and are remaining flexible, watching for opportunities to force the United States to the conference table.

The world struggle within the communist movement is reflected in the war in Vietnam. There have been some basic changes in the approach of the Soviet leadership. The Soviet Union has mobilized complete support for Vietnam. In Italy and France there has developed a powerful movement that will influence the actions of their governments. This is taking place in Great Britain also. However, in a number of the socialist countries there is a real doubt that the United States truly wants peaceful coexistence.

Fourth Session, Monday, July 19, 1965

GEORGE MEYERS was the Chairman of the fourth session which was held on July 19, 1965, at the same location.

The first speaker was ARNOLD JOHNSON who delivered a report on the struggle for peace and the Party's position in regard to Vietnam. JOHNSON stated as follows:

The escalation of the war in Vietnam has separated President JOHNSON from the people of the country and brought him closer to the view of BARRY GOLDWATER and the reactionary Republicans. He has lost the support of the people in his own Party and of world public opinion. The wave of protest is really expressive of United States opinion. Peace advocates in this country have also gained from the actions of peace forces in other countries.

President JOHNSON is now admitting that the United States is taking over the war in Vietnam and is committing United States troops for ground action. Secretary of State DEAN RUSK's "no sanctuary" statement is a trial balloon to test the American people. The attitude of the Administration is "how far can we get by with" as far as the American people are concerned. In point of fact, there is no Saigon Government nor South Vietnam Army. Although President KENNEDY said that the Vietnamese will fight the war, the fact is that the United States is doing it.

There is a struggle going on in the higher circles of United States Government. Some wanted Governor HARRIMAN to go to the USSR to speak to Soviet officials, and some did not. After his talk with Premier KOSYGIN, they left it up to a clerk to analyze this talk. This is vulgar and is not even diplomacy.

There has been some talk about the fact that CARLETON GOODLETT has had an entre to the White House. Let us not make too much of this. There are others who have entre to the White House and the State Department, like Dr. SPOCK and the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The questions of importance are: how to end the war and stop future aggression; how to give expression to the peace sentiments of the American people; how to utilize the anti-imperialist sentiment of the people. We must use every opportunity and keep in mind that there are various groupings, such as the Quakers, SANE, and others, who have their own plans for peace.

When [redacted] came back from Vietnam the last time, he gave a talk to some Wall Street tycoons and ran into some sharp disagreements. Senator ROBERT KENNEDY's speeches indicate that there are some differences on United States policies in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic and on nuclear policies. We must see these things despite the build-up for escalation. There is a continued opposition to Administration policies from the people, the press, radio, and television. We must give credit to Women Strike for Peace and their delegation to Helsinki and Indonesia.

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In this country there is a constant activity for peace even though it has its ups and downs. We must record the recent Madison Square Garden meeting as a success despite the efforts to sabotage it.

Now, on the matter of actions ahead. A massive teach-in and a 50,000 mass delegation to Washington by SANE was withdrawn because of some inner struggles. They have substituted smaller demonstrations August 7th at the White House and August 9th at the Washington Monument. This involves SNCC, the Du Bois Clubs, etc. The combination of the peace movement and the civil rights movement is very important. They are still fighting over this because SANE does not want sit-ins. The conflict is continuing and thus it may not materialize as a big mass action of 50,000 people. It may now be a limited action of a few thousand.

SANE will have a meeting in the garment district in New York City on August 6th and on the week end Women Strike for Peace will have a demonstration at the World's Fair. This is the anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima. In all cities there will be some action on that week end.

In regard to our decision in organizing anti-imperialist sentiment, we must admit that this has not been accomplished. But there are such centers being created by others. This is not in contradiction to the broader peace movement. We must take a look at ourselves in this activity. Our literature has been dominant, especially at the Madison Square Garden meeting. There the main distribution was of "The Worker," VICTOR PERLO's pamphlet, BETTY GANNETT's pamphlet, GUS HALL's pamphlet, and other Party leaflets.

There have been distributed 10,000 copies of BETTY GANNETT's pamphlet and 13,000 of VICTOR PERLO's pamphlet. There also is a new pamphlet on the Dominican Republic coming out. We

have taken 5,000 copies of a reprint of "The Nation" article on LOVESTONE and the CIA which was reprinted at our request.

A mass peace march on Washington is being considered to encompass 50,000 students, Women for Peace, SANE adherents, etc., for late September or in October. It is planned that they will have as many people in the picket of the White House and the Pentagon as there are additional United States troops sent to Vietnam. The effort will be to combine the peace movement and the civil rights movement in these demonstrations.

In the discussion that followed JOHNSON's report, [] commented as follows: In his speech in Austin, Texas, March 7, 1965, Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING spoke about the identity of interests between the peace interests of the people and civil rights. He spoke not in abstraction but in a concrete way. The present Administration has taken seriously Dr. KING's and the Christian leadership meeting at Danville, Virginia. President JOHNSON telephoned some of the civil rights leaders like WILKINS, [], etc., to repudiate this fight of the civil rights movement to end the war in Vietnam. Some of the leaders were intimidated, but this movement will spread.

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Following some additional discussion, GUS HALL made the following comments: I will reemphasize the overall problem of the great danger that prevails in Vietnam. This situation shows that the "world war madmen" still can escalate the war. It is an act of desperation. Defense Secretary MC NAMARA's trip to Vietnam is solely to provoke and escalate the situation; but as the 1966 elections approach, the forces opposed, including the masses as well as the world of business and finance, will grow and act. The opposition of the KENNEDYS to the current policy is no accident. President JOHN KENNEDY sent JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH to Vietnam, but he was not able to complete his analysis of the situation which actually was contrary to the analysis of the CIA and the Pentagon. This movement is growing as witnessed by the statements of Senator MORSE and Senator CHURCH. It reflects a deep split in the ranks of United States monopoly-capital, although the problem of the war is still grave.

There has been opposition to this war expressed on various levels. It is shown in the anti-imperialist actions and the militant actions of youth as demonstrated by sit-ins. We should support these militant actions but we must influence them not to oppose the broader actions of others. There will be a Washington Action - Politics for Peace. This will be a two-day dialogue on peace and civil rights. This may be the

beginning of unity of action of these two movements. [redacted] b6
[redacted] is pushing for representation of the "radical left." b7C
Dr. KING has not yet agreed to speak as he is waiting to see what will be the nature of the actions. In New York they will exclude communists.

At the moment a letter to President JOHNSON is being circulated by Democrats opposing his Vietnam policy. We should get behind this and support it. In August there will be a meeting or conference in Santa Barbara with the participation of Congressmen to work out a plan of action to change United States policy.

Following some additional discussion, ARNOLD JOHNSON made the following proposals:

- 1) That every district review its work and organize its participation in the upcoming peace demonstrations.
- 2) That the Party organize support for the Washington meeting on the scale needed.
- 3) That constant attention be given to this subject and that the Party establish "anti-imperialist centers."
- 4) That the Party give attention to issuing mass literature to publicize the demonstrations and insure Party participation.

The next item was a report by GIL GREEN on the McCarran Law and the CP. He stated as follows:

The situation on the question of the semi-legal status of the Party and its effect upon recruiting is worse for workers than it is for students. But as ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN used to say, "We must watch that the Party does not accommodate itself to the McCarran Law." We must get rid of the "McCarran shackles." McCarranism has become institutionalized for the last two decades. The AFL-CIO at one time indicated its opposition to this law but it has not now re-endorsed its position in favor of its repeal. This country is tired of the witch hunt and this is true especially among the youth. This was amply demonstrated in Chicago during the recent HUAC hearings.

We must also regard the fact that there have been some victories. CP members now can travel. We have the right to receive mail from other countries. There was the victory of

[redacted] This was tremendously important. There was the decision of the Supreme Court to accept jurisdiction on membership cases of the Party in the case of [redacted] and [redacted]. We should also keep in mind the decisions of the courts on the "front groups." Also, there have been no new HUAC contempt cases--not yet. There also has been the action of some youth organizations in refusing to screen communists out of their organizations and the same is true in SNCC.

This war in Vietnam presents a different situation than did the Korean War. Today, even those who agree with United States policy do not question as to who is the aggressor. They know that the United States is on the wrong moral side. The enemy is clearly seen--the United States is the aggressor. Of course, at the time of the Korean War the United States had a monopoly of the bomb. Today, people fear a nuclear war because of the monopoly has been broken.

We cannot take this new climate for granted--things can be worse. New attacks will begin against the youth organizations like the Du Bois Clubs and others. There is no real fight for freedom on the campus which is tied to the fight against the McCarran Act.

The CP, USA membership case will be heard in October and the Party trial on two indictments is also set for October. Our objective is to mount a campaign to come to a head at the time of the trial of the Party. An active campaign must be initiated to fight for the Party's right to appear on the ballot and to abolish the HUAC.

The Party must fight for itself and yet there is no danger of it turning into a "defense organization." The experience of the Hall-Davis Defense Committee shows that we are neglecting this organization. That Committee raised \$44,000 in its first year, but only \$22,000 the next year and much less this year. We can also judge this neglect by its leadership--while we gave to ELIZABETH FLYNN the services of JIM TORMEY to work on this and also BILL PATTERSON, the Party as such has neglected it. Besides, PATTERSON was away for sometime and should once again become involved.

There are 43 membership cases plus the GUS HALL case and yet there are only two local committees, those in Oregon and Los Angeles. Funds are not being raised and the financial situation is critical. Funds are needed for briefs before the Supreme Court and for the legal expenses of the coming trial. Fortunately, the first advertisement in the press brought gratifying results.

Our own press is not dealing with this fight on the McCarran Law. This, however, will be corrected. It will begin with personal sketches of the defendants. I would propose the establishment of speaker bureaus in the various states. A mass mailing of material is going to start. Only in California are we reaching the public; the other districts are lagging. For your information, [REDACTED], BILL PATTERSON, DOROTHY HEALEY, and GUS HALL are available to speak to meetings. A campaign should start immediately to drop the indictment against GUS HALL. There should be a fund-raising affair in all cities where there are people who have been cited. At the time of the trial we must fill the courtroom and mass picket lines, etc.

There is going to be a national effort. On September 17, 1965, there will be a teach-in and on September 18, 1965, a "solve-in" in New York City called by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. The Party must help mobilize others to attend and help this project. The National Committee for Protection of Foreign Born will hold a separate conference on the same week end. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has allocated \$3,000 for the conference but not one cent for fares or expenses of people to attend the meeting.

GIL GREEN then made the following proposals which were passed:

- 1) A mobilization of Party forces against the McCarran Act.
- 2) The establishment of a CP, USA speakers bureau.
- 3) The issuance of mass material.
- 4) The working up of a movement in support of the September 17-18, 1965, conference.

After some further discussion, GIL GREEN made some further comments:

He noted that there are some legal questions that need to be hammered out. He characterized the Party's lawyers as too tame and conservative. He said they take a too narrow "legal" approach and do not see the politics involved.

A motion was made and carried to accept GIL GREEN's report.

Discussion on the program was referred to the Secretariat.

At the conclusion of the meeting a number of committees were set up which would meet on July 20, 1965, at the CP, USA National Office. The following committees would meet during the morning of July 20, 1965:

Program Committee (this is a nucleus and others will be added later)

GUS HALL
CARL WINTER
HY LUMER
BOB THOMPSON
GIL GREEN
AL RICHMOND
TOMMY DENNIS
HERBERT APTHEKER

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Farm Committee

GEORGE MEYERS
ERIC BERT
LEM HARRIS

Youth Committee

[Redacted]

b6
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MICKEY LIMA

The following committees would meet at 1:30 p.m., July 20, 1965, at CP, USA national headquarters:

Working Class and Trade Union

IRVING POTASH
IRVING GOFF
JIM TORMEY
DOROTHY HEALEY
BOB THOMPSON
GIL GREEN

(CARL WINTER is a member of this Committee but will be absent.)

Left and Left Unity

JACK STACHEL
WILL WEINSTONE
[REDACTED]

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Correlation of Democracy

PHIL BART
ARNOLD JOHNSON
BETTY GANNETT
[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

State Monopoly-Capitalism

HY LUMER
ERIC BERT
MIKE DAVIDOW

Perspective of the Civil Rights Movement

HENRY WINSTON
TOMMY DENNIS
[REDACTED]
BILL PATTERSON

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After the above designations, the meeting of the National Board of the CP, USA and invited guests adjourned.

5

An Approach to a Resolution on the Negro Question

For a decade the Negro freedom movement has leaped forward. It has initiated wave after wave of mass actions which has set millions into motion in support of first one and then another of the programmatic requirements for securing equality and freedom.

In overwhelming numbers the young generation of white youth have come out in behalf of the demands of the Negro people to be free from all manner of discrimination.

The major denominations of church-goers support the just demands of the Negro people.

The majority of the organized labor movement is involved in the purposeful drive of the Negro people to secure the full measure of the rights to which they are entitled as citizens on the same, equal, level of that of all other peoples of the nation.

Decisive sections of world public opinion have expressed its solidarity with the just cause of the Negro Americans.

Under the ceaseless hammering of the Negro people and the ever-widening front of their active supporters among the rest of the nation, and, as a consequence of the effect of this struggle upon world public opinion, the Federal government and the Administration have been compelled to make significant interventions in behalf of upholding the constitutional rights of the Negro citizen.

Civil Rights legislation has been won. Some integration of Negroes in areas of Federal authority has been realized, etc. Substantial gains have been made in affirming the legality of the Negroes' demands to be free to exercise every right which white citizens claim, and racial discrimination has been outlawed though not ended.

Nevertheless, the most oppressed component of the nation is the

Negro people. Racial prejudice, political disfranchisement, economic deprivation and social discrimination characterize their status in relation to the white people of the nation. Indeed, the integration of Negro-Americans in the economic, political and social life of the nation is nowhere accomplished in fair ratio to their numbers in the population. The opportunity for Negro Americans to participate in the major pursuits of the nation remains meanly circumscribed and severely limited by law or custom.

The cause of the freedom and equality of the Negro Americans is a cause yet to be won. The prolonged and oftentimes heroic struggle of the movement for equality over the past decade has brought the vision of victory nearer, but the goal remains an objective to be fought for.

In the present and developing phase of the Negro people's struggle for equal rights and freedom, a new quality of emphasis must be placed on the question of the interaction and interdependence of this struggle to the historic workingclass obligation to lead the entire nation in struggle to break through the barrier of the capitalist social system, this big business dominated society which is structured to serve primarily the profit interest of the monopolists, rather than satisfy the over expanding needs and requirements of the masses of the people.

Lenin noted that it was necessary to be mindful of the wide range of the correlations between the movement of the oppressed and the proletarian emancipation movement of the oppressing people; to help each in turn to identify its cause and goals with that of the other. He saw the convergence and mutual reinforcement of these two movements as essential for the victory of either. This concept has special validity for our time and the struggle in our country; emphatically so, when we give consideration to the overwhelming workingclass composition

of the Negro people.

In the period ahead the Negro freedom movement will increasingly develop a consciousness of the objective fact that the struggle for Negro equality and freedom is a specialized part of the workingclass struggle; that ultimately the Negroes' oppressive condition is perpetuated by the capitalist/monopolist class which is able to gain additional profit advantage from the super-exploitation of Negroes as a consequence of their deprivation of equal rights.

More and more clearly the Negro freedom movement will draw anti-monopolist, anti-capitalist conclusions from its struggle experiences. The heavy proportion of working people to the total Negro population dictate such a course of development for the Negro freedom movement.

What is more, capitalism in the U.S. has historically victimized the Negro American, even as capitalist-imperialism victimized his ancestral kinsmen of the African continent.

From its earliest establishment in America, capitalism has been guilty of enriching its private fortunes out of the most savage robbery of the Negro people and the most ruthless exploitation of the labor power of Negro working people, both, during the era of chattle slavery, and, throughout the span of the century since emancipation.

Capitalism instituted the dreadful system of human slavery to translate 'the blood, toil and tears' of Negroes into personal profit and corporate capital and maintained it by terror and law and bestially savage social customs for over 300 years.

The operation of the slave system in the U.S.A. then, like the discrimination system against Negroes now, were developments of capitalism and functions of this nefarious system of human exploitation for private profit-making.

Notwithstanding all the disabilities and oppression -- the excluding and the denial, the segregation and the discrimination -- the Negro people are an integral part of this American nation.

The Negro is an American and this United States is his native land.

Other than the Indians, all Americans have ancestral origins abroad. Negro Americans' ancestors stemmed from Africa, from peoples who today are playing a great role in the world cause of emancipation from the bondage of colonialism and imperialism.

To meet the challenge and utilize the opportunities to best advantage of the present phase in the struggle, the following should be given emphasis:

The struggle of the Negro people for integration in the economic, political and social affairs of the nation on the basis of full equality with all other Americans is a struggle to enlarge democracy in the entire nation.

Negro Americans of all classes are compelled to enter into the struggle against racial discrimination and its social consequences. However, the fact that the Negro people are predominantly working class will increasingly influence the program and goals of the Negro people's movement, the strategy and tactics of the struggle, as well as assuring the permanent nature of the alliance with the organized labor movement. Indeed, labor and the Negro people are destined to march together in pursuit of a common future free of capitalist exploitation and capitalist racial oppression.

Because of the high working class composition of the Negro people and the strength of the Negro workers in key areas of the economy, the freedom struggle of the Negro people presents itself as a vital front of the anti-monopoly struggle. It is geared into the tasks related

to the fulfillment of the historic goal of the working class, that is, to effect the transformation of society from capitalist to socialist. The freedom objectives of the Negro people directly benefit the working class and serve the democratic interest of the whole nation.

I. In the POLITICAL Sphere:

The Negro people's fight to eliminate political discrimination is in essence A STRUGGLE FOR GENUINELY REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

It entails full freedom to vote and to be voted for. The majority must be secure to exercise its right to the power in local political subdivisions -- precincts, wards, counties, Congressional Districts, Assembly Districts, etc. The minority must have the right to proportional representation at all levels of the three branches of government -- the legislative, administrative and judicial as well as an equal share of the police power.

The struggle of the Negro people for full access to the political arena in the southern states and the northern ghettos is a struggle to oust the worst reactionaries, Dixiecrats, racists, warmongers, anti-labor servants of the monopolists from the Congress and from the state and local governing bodies, and to place in public office genuine representatives of the people drawn from the Negro people, the labor movement and the progressive forces generally.

II. In the ECONOMIC Sphere:

The struggle of the Negro people against economic discrimination is a major front in the real WAR AGAINST POVERTY.

It requires the trade union organization of the unorganized especially in the factories and the fields of the South.

It necessitates the development of the economy in the South in particular and in the other areas of blight and poverty as well. The

reconstruction of agriculture on a modern scientific basis and big expansion of industry in the southern region is required. The economic needs of the Negro people require a vast and countrywide program to wipe out the shame of the slums of the metropolitan centers and rural areas and to erect in their stead unsegregated, open-occupancy controlled low-rent, and low-cost housing, recreational facilities and playgrounds and parks as well as all necessary schools and hospital facilities.

Capital for the financing of such development programs which are needed to reduce the accumulated discrimination gap in the economic status of the Negro people must be supplied by the government out of the profit hoards of the monopolists and from the savings that would flow from a drastic reduction of the military appropriations.

To secure the scale of an anti-poverty program needed to wipe out the economic discrimination and social deprivation of Negro Americans is to make an assault upon the profit grabbing of the corporations and the trusts, is to enter into struggle against monopoly capitalism.

*

Keep an Eye to the Working Class Strata's Requirements and Needs on

Policy Questions

Central to the solution of all problems that present themselves in the area of strategy and tactics for the Negro freedom movement is the necessity to establish the identity of the Negro people in terms of 1) their relation to the nation as a whole, and 2) their relation to the working class (whose destiny it is to lead the nation to its classless future). In this regard --

- 1) Negroes are an integral part of the nation, though suffering special oppression and racial discrimination.
- 2) The number of Negro capitalists are minimal and none are big capi-

talists; the middle class category are a small percentage of the total; the mass of the Negro people are of the working class.

The approach to all policy questions, to all matters of tactics and strategy in respect to the developing struggles of the Negro freedom movement must take into account the necessity that all policies and tactics need to correspond to both the immediate as well as long range interest on the basic numbers of the Negro people -- the working class majority.

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The Party's Leadership Role and Organization is a Need of the Freedom
Movement

During the past decade the young generation especially of the Negro people have gained a wide experience with the CLASS nature of the capitalist STATE and how its police and court system defends its privileges and power. They have gained much experience in the matter of building organization, cultivating unity, reaching out to forgo alliances with a wide strata of white people. They have, out of their experience, grown profoundly critical of the whole nature and structure of capitalist society. They seek a progressive alternative to capitalism. Our Party has the opportunity and duty to disclose the socialist alternative to the young generation, to bring to them the compass of science, of Marxism-Leninism to illumine their way, that they may take their rightful place in our Party, the better to give leadership to the masses in the struggle for freedom, equality and justice.

Certain Current Facts and Figures Depicting the Extent of the Super-Exploitation of Negro Workers as a Consequence and as an Expression of the Oppression of the Negro People

A U.S. Bureau of the Census study for 1964 showed:

Of the total U.S. population of 191.3 million, 10.9 percent or 20.8 million were Negro Americans.

Currently 17.5% of all of the Nation's jobless are Negroes. The unemployment rate among Negroes being twice that among whites. 9% of the Negro work force is jobless as compared to 4.3% for whites.

40.9% of Negro male workers have incomes of less than \$2,000 a year compared with 24.2% of white male workers. The median income of Negro men is half that of white men.

74.4% of Negroes 25 or older have not finished high school compared with 49.8% of whites.

27.8% of all persons arrested in the United States are Negroes. (Not more criminal, just more often arrested and victimized by the politico-court system.)

In his extraordinary speech at Howard University in Washington, D.C. last June 4th, President Johnson took note of the snails pace of progress that characterizes the economic progress of the Negro especially. "The harsh fact of the matter," he noted, "is that, in the battle for true equality, too many Negroes are losing ground." The wide disparity in status, the differences that still exist between Negroes and whites "are solely and simply the consequence of ancient brutality, past injustice and present prejudice ... For the Negro, they are a reminder of oppression. For the white, they are a reminder of guilt."

41.9% of Negro male workers are blue-collar workers, as against

36.4% of white male workers.

46.5% of white male workers are in the white-collar category as compared to the 18.4% of Negro male workers with white-collar jobs.

Of the category of Service Workers, 31.4% of Negro men working are in this category, as against only 10.8% of the white males employed.

6.3% of the white male working force are farm workers, and 8.3% of the Negro male workers are farm workers.

In every category of employment Negroes are paid less than whites for equivalent work, for example:

The life-time earnings of white teachers amount to \$256,000 on the average as against \$183,000 for Negro teachers.

The life-time earnings of clerical workers are estimated at \$218,000 for a white worker as against \$162,000 for a Negro.

The white carpenter earns \$190,000 in a life-time as compared to \$112,000 for a Negro carpenter.

The life-time earnings of a white laborer amounts to \$157,000 as against \$105,000 for a Negro laborer.

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b7D

DATE: 7/30/65

Date received 7/16/65	Received from (name or symbol number) [redacted] (Reliable-Conceal)	Received by SA PETER J. LEIGHTON
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person
 by telephone
 by mail
 orally
 recording device
 written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date _____
Dictated _____ to _____
Transcribed by SA LEIGHTON on 7/16/65
Authenticated by Informant 7/21/65

Date of Report

7/16/65

Date(s) of activity

7/17/65

Brief description of activity or material

Demonstration by Brooklyn CORE on 7/17/65
at Police Headquarters in N.Y.C.

File where original is located if not attached

b7D

Remarks:

Desk #42 advised Bureau & NYCPD 7/16/65.

- 1 - [redacted] (INV) (41) b6
- 1 - 100-152910 ([redacted]) (47) b7C
- 1 - 157-1223 (CORE) (42) b7D
- 1 - 100-155762 (BFDM) (42)
- (1) - 100-153735 (CIRM) (42)

PJL:rmp *[signature]*
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JUL 30 1965	
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[Signature]

NY 100-153735

7/16/65
NY, NY

According to [redacted], Chairman of Brooklyn CORE and candidate for New York City Council for the Brooklyn Freedom Democratic Movement, Brooklyn CORE will hold a mass demonstration on 7/17/65, starting in Brooklyn at 12 noon. The demonstrators will march across the Brooklyn Bridge to N.Y.C. Police Headquarters.

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This demonstration is in protest of the shooting of a negro boy, [redacted], in Brooklyn, N.Y. on 7/15/65.

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July 9, 1965

[Redacted]

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New York, New York

Dear [Redacted]:

The question of Peace in the world and Freedom for the Negro people in the United States poses serious thought in American life and the world today. It is the general tendency on the part of those who are participating in the movement for Peace or Civil Rights to indicate that these questions are separate points of view. There is a correlation between the two questions which need to be explored and it would be a mistake not to recognize it.

Today, the unnecessary wars that are taking place in Vietnam and Santo Domingo by the United States government is erasing a multitude of human life; in our country particularly in Mississippi and Selma, Alabama again human life is being effaced by the same group who is carrying on the gross violation of human rights in other parts of the world. There is an identity between the two questions which must be brought to the fore.

Realizing the importance of these vital questions FREEDOMWAYS Magazine is planning a panel discussion which will deal with following points:

1. Can there be Freedom at home with a war abroad being conducted by our government?
2. What is the bridge for the Peace and Civil Rights Movement?
3. Can you have Civil Rights and Civil Liberties in a warfare state?


On Friday evening, November 5th, 1965 FREEDOMWAYS Magazine will hold a forum at Town Hall to discuss the above points.

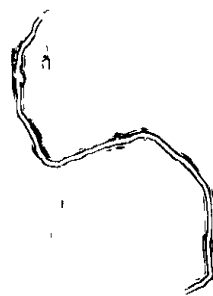
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

It would be our pleasure if you could be one of the participating speakers at this important meeting.
I would deeply appreciate it if you would let me hear by Friday, September 10, 1965 if your schedule would permit you to partake in this program.
Thanking you for your interest, I remain

Yours sincerely,

b6
b7C


Special Projects
Co-ordinator



SAC, ATLANTA (100-6197)

7/30/65

SAC, NEW YORK (100-144189)

FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INC.
IS-C
(OO: NY)

On 7/13/65, NY 3246-S* made available the following information which was maintained by Freedomways Associates, Inc., at 799 Broadway, NYC:

1. Copies of a form letter, one of which is dated 7/8/65, and addressed to the [redacted] Director of Affiliates, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 334 Auburn Avenue, N.E. Atlanta, Georgia. The other form letter was dated 7/9/65, and addressed to [redacted], New York, New York.

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Both letters contain the typed name of [redacted], "Special Projects Coordinator", and both form letters reflect the following information:

There is a "correlation" between the question of world peace and freedom for the Negro people in the United States and "it would be a mistake not to recognize it." The United States is carrying on "unnecessary wars" in Viet Nam and Santo Domingo, which is costing lives while in Mississippi and Selma, Alabama, "human life is being effaced by the same group who is carrying on the gross violation of human rights in other parts of the world." The identity between the two questions must be brought to the fore.

3-Atlanta (Encl 1)(RM)

(1-100-[redacted])

1-New York (100-153735) ([redacted])

1-New York (100-94653) (VICTOR PERLO)

1-New York (100-136787) ([redacted])

1-New York (100-152634) ([redacted])

1-New York

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JFO:hab
(8)

100-153735-1695

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
JUL 30 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]

NY 100-144189

Because of the importance of these questions, "Freedomways" Magazine will hold a forum at Town Hall, New York City, on the evening of November 5, 1965, to discuss three points: namely:

- "1. Can there be freedom at home with a war abroad being conducted by our government?
- "2. What is the bridge for the Peace and Civil Rights Movement?
- "3. Can you have Civil Rights and Civil Liberties in a warfare state? "

These letters request the recipients to be one of the participating speakers at this forum.

A copy of the letter to [redacted] is being forwarded as an enclosure with this letter to Atlanta.

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2. A letter on the stationery of VICTOR PERLO, dated 6/23/65, from VICTOR PERLO to [redacted] at "Freedomways" stating that he would be happy to participate in the November 5 Forum sponsored by "Freedomways".

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3. A letter on the stationery of [redacted], [redacted], New York, New York, dated 6/30/65, addressed to [redacted], Special Projects Coordinator at "Freedomways", and bearing her signature. This letter states that she would accept the invitation to participate in the program which "Freedomways" would present on Friday evening, November 5.

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4. A letter on the stationery of "Town Hall, 123 West 43rd Street, New York City", addressed to [redacted], [redacted], at Freedomways Associates, Inc., dated 7/9/65, enclosed with which was a lease Number 2747, for Freedomways Associates for Friday evening, November 5, 1965, for a forum on Peace and Civil Rights. It was indicated that the deposit would be \$325.

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NY 100-144189

Information furnished by NY 3246-S* should be paraphrased if used in a report or otherwise disseminated in order to protect this highly confidential source.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

7/30/65

SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-66078)(P)

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re Los Angeles teletype to Bureau, Atlanta, and New York dated 7/15/65, and Bureau airtel dated 7/16/65, concerning [redacted] b6 b7C

The files of the Los Angeles Office contained the following information concerning [redacted] from sources who have furnished reliable information in the past b6 b7C

Former [redacted] [redacted] advised during the period of 2/25/63 to 3/11/64 that [redacted] was active in the Women's International Strike for Peace at Los Angeles, and was editor of "LA-WISP", the bulletin of the Women's International Strike for Peace at Los Angeles during 1963 and 1964. b6 b7C b7D

[redacted] (LA 100-61745-680, p. 5) advised on 6/11/65 that [redacted] Los Angeles 48, California, telephone [redacted], was on the VIP mailing list of WISP in Los Angeles. b6 b7C b7D

[redacted] advised on 2/25/64 that the news bulletin "LA-WISP" dated 2/7/64 noted that the editor was [redacted], also known as [redacted]. b6 b7C b7D

[redacted] advised on 11/17/64 that [redacted], usually known as [redacted], the former editor of "LA-WISP", was recently mailed a copy of the latest issue of that bulletin to her new residence, [redacted], New York, New York. b6 b7C b7D

On 7/15/65 [redacted] was recontacted by SA G. G. BENJAMIN, JR., at which time the informant verified the above b7D

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-6670)(RM)
- ② - New York (100-153735)(RM)
- 2 - Los Angeles

GEP:dmg
(8)

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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JUL 30 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Deaton
100-153735-1696
Jr

LA 100-66078

information and added that [redacted] arranged to secure a position as a teacher at University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) in the fall of 1964, but when it was determined that her husband's play was a success, she did not accept the UCLA position and joined her husband in New York City instead. The informant was unaware as to whether the husband was an actor or a playwright. Informant described [redacted] as white, female, American, approximately 35 years old, 5'7" tall, approximately 140 pounds in weight, with a good figure. She was further described as nice looking, with long dark brown hair, usually worn in a severe style with a bun. b6 b7C

Other logical informants were contacted but could furnish no additional information.

On 7/20/65 [redacted] (Conceal), [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

[redacted], Los Angeles, advised SA GORDON B. PLAYMAN that he had no record for [redacted] under that name or under the name [redacted], or [redacted].

On 7/20/65 [redacted] (Conceal), [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

[redacted], Los Angeles, advised SA LESLIE F. WARREN that she had no record on [redacted] but that her record on actor JACK ALBERTSON, legal name HAROLD R. ALBERTSON, reflected that he is married to [redacted] and that as of 2/10/65 their address was [redacted], New York, City. He was last reported doing a play in New York, for which he had received a Tony Award. He is a member of the Hollywood Local of the Screen Actor's Guild, which is his parent local. His last local address in Los Angeles was [redacted], telephone [redacted].

[redacted] (Conceal), [redacted]

[redacted] Los Angeles, advised SA LESLIE F. WARREN on 7/20/65 that the Welfare Record maintained on JACK ALBERTSON, reflects that his [redacted] is [redacted], and she was born [redacted]. He has a [redacted] who was born [redacted]. b6 b7C b7D

The records of the Los Angeles County Registrar of Voters, checked by SA GORDON B. PLAYMAN on 7/21/65, contained a

LA 100-66078

registration for [redacted], Los Angeles. She last registered on 2/26/53 and previously lived at [redacted], Los Angeles. She gave her birth place as Pennsylvania, her height as 5'7" and her occupation as writer. She last registered as a Democrat.

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[redacted] has no record at the Los Angeles Police Department or the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Office under any of her known aliases as of 7/22/65.

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The records of the Los Angeles Retail Merchants Credit Association, checked on 7/26/65, indicated that that organization has had a record on JACK ALBERTSON and [redacted] since July, 1955, when they lived at [redacted], Los Angeles.

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In October, 1957, they moved to [redacted]. He is listed as an actor and writer from his residence and has worked as an actor at various studios and on television since 1931. He is listed as a member of the Screen Actor's Guild, Los Angeles, since 1937. She was listed in October, 1957 as vice president of Pan American House, 9001 Beverly Boulevard, Los Angeles. Prior to July, 1955, Mr. [redacted] ALBERTSON apparently resided in New York City.

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Los Angeles files failed to indicate that [redacted] has any connection with the Western Christian Leadership Conference, the West Coast affiliate of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Membership and activity in the Western Christian Leadership Conference is limited exclusively to Negro ministers. Los Angeles files failed to show that [redacted] has been in contact with MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., in Los Angeles.

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DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

7/30/65

SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

CIRM

ReBulet to NY, 7/15/65.

The following investigation was conducted by SA [redacted]

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On 7/23/65, [redacted], Credit Bureau of Rockland County, 74 North Broadway, Nyack, NY, furnished the following information to SA [redacted]

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Credit files contained a notation dated June 25, 1964, which revealed [redacted] and his [redacted], then resided on [redacted], NY. A notation dated September, 1961, revealed that they formerly resided at [redacted], New City, NY, and they had been at that address, at that time, for 2 years. A notation in the credit file dated December, 1963, indicated, at that time, [redacted] employment had been verified with the NYC Board of Education at Public School [redacted] located in Manhattan, NY, where he served as the [redacted] of the school and he earned \$ [redacted] per year. The notation revealed he had been employed there for 5 years and he was a permanent employee. A notation in November, 1963, revealed [redacted] was employed by [redacted] in [redacted], NY. A notation dated December, 1963, revealed that the [redacted] resided on [redacted], NY. The report indicated they had two children. A notation in the file revealed that as of April 25, 1962, [redacted] had a mortgage with the Tapanzee Bank in the amount of [redacted] for property located in [redacted], NY. It is noted that [redacted] NY, is located in the [redacted] NY.

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- 3-Bureau (100-442529) (RM)
- (1-100-437828) (HARRY H. WACHTEL)
- 1-NY (100-93585) ([redacted]) (40)
- 1-NY (100-57362) ([redacted]) (46)
- 1-NY (100-148289) (HARRY H. WACHTEL) (42)
- 1-NY (100-153735) (42)

JCS:rmv
(1)

Searched _____
Serialized _____
Indexed _____
Filed _____

100-153735-1697

F B I

Date: 8/1/65

DIR.
SAC
ASST. DIR.
ADM. SERV.
CIVIL RIGHTS
IDENT. & INTEL.
INSPECTION
INVEST. & TRAINING
LABORATORY
LEGAL COUNSEL
RECORDS & COMM. DIV.
TELETYPE UNIT
TRAINING CENTER

Transmit the following in CODE
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS-C

(OO: NEW YORK)

Truly

ON NIGHT OF JULY THIRTY ONE, NINETEEN SIXTY FIVE, NEW YORK FOUR TWO ONE TWO ^S ADVISED BAYARD RUSTIN AND [REDACTED] (DIRECTOR OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS DEPARTMENT, AFL-CIO, WASHINGTON, D.C.) WERE IN CONTACT. AMONG MATTERS DISCUSSED WAS A SCHEDULED LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (OF CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS) FOR THE NEAR FUTURE. THE SOURCE BELIEVES THE CONFERENCE WILL BE IN WASHINGTON, D.C., AND WILL BE FOR PURPOSE OF PROMOTING HARMONY IN CIVIL RIGHTS FIELD. RUSTIN AND [REDACTED] ^D AGREE TO WORK FOR SUCCESS OF CONFERENCE AND IN THAT REGARD, RUSTIN SAID HE WOULD BE IN WASHINGTON ON TUESDAY (AUGUST THREE, NINETEEN SIXTY FIVE) TO MEET WITH HUMPHREY (VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY) ABOUT THE CONFERENCES. SOURCE UNABLE TO FURNISH RUSTIN'S

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EXACT PLANS. LETTERHEAD MEMORANDUM FOLLOWS.

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

JMK:rfh

100-153735-1698

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

8/2/65

SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

CIRM

ReBuairtel to NY, 7/16/65, and NY airtel and
letterhead memorandum dated 7/13/65.

On 7/11/65, Special Agents of the NYO observed
STANLEY LEVISON, accompanied by an unknown white female
board Delta Airlines Flight Number 923,
at Kennedy International Airport, NY, which flight was
scheduled to depart New York for Atlanta at 6:40 p.m. ~~SECRET~~ (U)

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A representative of the Airport Sales Corp.,
United Terminal Building, Insurance Counter, Kennedy
International Airport, made available information on
7/11/65, that [redacted] had made
application for insurance on the evening of 7/11/65. She
gave her address as [redacted], Los Angeles, California,
and she listed the name of her beneficiary as JACK ALBERTSON,
130 E. 18th St., NYC.

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With respect to [redacted], the
following information was located in the indices of the NYO:

On 12/19/48, [redacted] advised that [redacted]
invited MARTHA and ALFRED STERN on 6/15/47, to a reception
following her marriage to [redacted].

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On 5/19/49, NY T-450 advised that [redacted]
conferred with STERN regarding her divorce from [redacted].

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- 2-Bureau (100-442529) (RM)
- 2-Los Angeles (RM)
- 1-NY (100-)
- 1-NY (100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (42)
- 1-NY (100-153735) (42)

JCS:RMV
(7)

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CLASSIFIED AND
EXTENDED BY 60804/12/19/77
REASON FOR EXTENSION
DATE OF REVIEW FOR
DECLASSIFICATION

Searched
Serialized
Indexed
Filed

100-153735-1699

NY 100-153735

On 5/22/57, [redacted], NYC, advised SA T. CHANDLER JOSEY that he was a self-employed writer and was formerly married to [redacted] and resided at [redacted]. He stated that his former [redacted] was married to JAMES ALBERTSON, an actor, and was living somewhere in California. He also stated that his former [redacted] was very active in the 1948 HENRY WALLACE campaign and worked with ALFRED and MARTHA STERN in this campaign. [redacted] mentioned that his former [redacted] knew the STERNS very well.

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It is to be noted that ALFRED K. STERN and MARTHA DODD STERN were subjects in the MOGASE ~~SECRET~~ (U)

Records of the Credit Bureau of Greater New York were furnished by [redacted] on July 26, 1965, to IC MICHAEL L. O'LEARY. There was a record for JACK ALBERTSON in December, 1964, in which it was indicated that he was married to [redacted]. His residence was listed as 130 E. 18th St., NYC, and also [redacted], Los Angeles, California. It was also indicated that he is an actor and was in December, 1964, playing the lead role in the play, "Subject Was Roses." His age was listed as late 50s. The records also revealed that [redacted] was Vice President of Pan American House, 9001 Beverly Blvd., Los Angeles, California, for 15 years. The records also contained information that [redacted] claimed to have a special checking account with a local bank, Chemical Bank, Union Square, NYC.

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The Credit Bureau records also revealed a file dated 6/23/48 for [redacted] whose [redacted] was indicated to be [redacted]. His residences were listed as [redacted], NYC; [redacted], NYC, and [redacted], NYC. His age was shown as early 30s. It was indicated that he was a free lance writer and that she was employed by NBC at 30 Rockefeller Plaza, NYC.

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From the foregoing information, it would seem that the woman who accompanied STANLEY DAVID LEVISON to Atlanta, is identical with [redacted] who was married to [redacted], but at present this has not been definitely established.

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NY 100-153735

NY is in the process of checking records of NBC for further information and is also checking records of the Board of Elections regarding [REDACTED].

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Los Angeles, in an effort to get further background information with respect to [REDACTED] will check credit records and records of the Board of Elections for [REDACTED] at [REDACTED], Los Angeles, California.

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~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Bu 100-442529 New York, New York
August 2, 1965

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12-30-2011

Re: Communist Influence in
Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information on the night of July 31, 1965, revealing that Stanley David Levison and Clarence Jones were in contact on that night. Levison told Jones that he had recently contacted [redacted] Executive Director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, SCLC) to learn what action had been taken in regard to [redacted] and the project he (Levison) had proposed. He said [redacted] apprised him that the Administrative Committee (SCLC) had adopted it and had agreed to go forward with it. Jones inquired if that meant that [redacted] had been hired (by the SCLC). Levison answered that since his proposal to embark on the project had been approved, he would say yes, adding, however, that someone would have to talk to him [redacted] about his background and other matters. Levison

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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

W
~~SECRET~~
Group I
~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

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Serialized _____
Indexed _____
Filed _____

100-153735-1700

~~SECRET~~

Re: Communist Influence in
Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

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said that someone other than [] would have to talk with him since [] had already reached a satisfactory conclusion.

With regard to the project proposed by Levison, attention is called to information by the same source on July 9, 1965, that Levison and [] were in contact on that date, during which time Levison said his memorandum had been read by Martin Luther King and that King would present it to the Executive Committee on July 19, 1965. The memorandum, according to Levison, urged that funds be raised through the SCLC by soliciting contributions from various churches.

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A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on July 31, 1965, that Bayard Rustin (Organizer of the March on Washington) was in touch with [] on that date. During their meeting, Rustin mentioned that he was writing a speech for Martin Luther King, which deals with Viet Nam. In that regard, Rustin said he had a hard time convincing King that he should not press the Student Non Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to take a position on the issue.

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Also during their contact, Rustin and [] discussed a scheduled leadership conference (of civil rights organizations) for the near future. The source believes the conference will be in Washington, D.C., and will be for the purpose of promoting harmony in the civil rights field. Rustin and [] agreed to work for the success of the conference and in that regard, Rustin said he would be in Washington, D.C.,

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-2-
~~SECRET~~

Re: Communist Influence in
Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

on Tuesday (August 3, 1965) to meet with Humphrey (Vice President Humphrey) about the conference.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in April, 1964, that Stanley Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA) in July, 1963. In late 1963 and early 1964, he criticized the Communist Party (CP) for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. Levison was described by certain CP leaders as being to the "left" of the CP in his position on civil rights. His differences with the CP, however, are merely tactical and he continues his ideological adherence to Communism.

Clarence Jones is the General Counsel to the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York, New York.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on February 26, 1957, that he identified a photograph of Clarence Jones as a person whom he knew during late 1953 or early 1954 to be a member of and in a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League.

The Labor Youth League has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

In "The Saturday Evening Post", issue of July 11-18, 1964, page 76, Bayard Rustin is the subject

Re: Communist Influence in
Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

of a feature article captioned: "The Lone Wolf of Civil Rights". In it, Rustin is said to have come to New York in 1938, as an organizer for the Young Communist League (YCL), and as such, he had the job of recruiting students for the "Party". Furthermore, the article reports that during his first years in New York, Rustin gave most of his earnings to the "Party". He reportedly left the "Party" in 1941, the article states.

The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Daily Worker", February 11, 1957, page 1 column 2, reported that Bayard Rustin, Executive Secretary, War Resisters League, was an observer at the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA), held in New York City, on February 9-12, 1957.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist publication until it ceased publication on January 13, 1958.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on September 25, 1963, that during a meeting of the National Board, CP, USA, on that date, Benjamin J. Davis remarked that, "Rustin calls me constantly--openly."

Re: Communist Influence in
Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

Another confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on February 19, 20, 1964, that Bayard Rustin contacted Benjamin J. Davis on those dates and sought his advice as to how he could escape from a speaking engagement to which he was committed. On the latter contact, Davis told Rustin that he was working on his request and had contacted friends who had contacts with the group to which Rustin was to speak.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on January 21, 1964, that as of that date, Benjamin J. Davis was National Secretary of the CP, USA.

"The New York Times", August 24, 1964, page 27, column 4, reports that Benjamin J. Davis, National Secretary, CP, USA, died in New York City on the night of August 22, 1964.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in June, 1964, that [redacted] was employed as [redacted], Civil Rights Department, American Federation of Labor - Congress of Industrial Organizations, (AFL-CIO), Washington, D.C.

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A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, identified [redacted] as a member of the Workers Party and the Independent Socialist League from about 1947

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Re: Communist Influence in
Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

through 1959. In an application signed by [redacted] in November, 1960, while endeavoring to obtain access to classified information, he stated he had never been a member of any organization which advocates the violent overthrow of the Government. However, he admitted membership from 1940 to 1958 in the Workers Party and the Independent Socialist League.

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INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST LEAGUE (ISL)
FORMERLY WORKERS PARTY(WP)

The May 4, 1942, issue of "Labor Action," then an official publication of the Workers Party (WP), carried an article which reflected that the WP was formed in April, 1940, as a result of a split within the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The article stated that when the Hitler-Stalin Pact was signed and Poland invaded, the minority group within the SWP, in proclaiming the formation of the WP, condemned the pact as being imperialistic in nature and stated it would not support either imperialist camp.

The April 25, 1949, issue of "Labor Action" contained an account of the Fifth National Convention of the WP, held March 24-27, 1949, in New York City, which reflected the change of name of the organization from the WP to the Independent Socialist League (ISL) in order to emphasize the character of the group as a propaganda group for the spreading of socialist ideas and not as a full-fledged political party.

The July 14, 1958, issue of "Labor Action," an official publication of the ISL, contained an article captioned, "The ISL Program in Brief." The article indicated: "The ISL stands for socialist democracy and against the two systems

~~SECRET~~

Re: Communist Influence in
Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

"of exploitation which now divide the world: capitalism and Stalinism. The ISL, as a Marxist movement, looks to the working class and its ever-present struggle as the basic progressive force in society. The ISL is organized to spread the ideas of socialism in the labor movement and among all other sections of the people. There can be no lasting and genuine democracy without socialism and there can be no socialism without democracy.

The September 22, 1958, issue of "Labor Action" contained an undated statement signed by the Political Committee of the ISL which indicated that the ISL had been dissolved. The statement urged former ISL members to join the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

HA-7
~~SECRET~~

FBI

Date: 8/2/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)
SUBJECT: CIRM
IS-C
(OO: NY)

DECLASSIFIED BY: [Handwritten initials]
DATE: 2/28/2000
[Handwritten signature]

Enclosed are eleven copies of a letterhead memorandum reporting information from NY 3810-S* and NY 4212-S*; three copies are enclosed for the information of the Atlanta Office.

Here follows the sources used to characterize individuals in the letterhead memorandum:

STANLEY LEVISON NY 694-S*

- 5-Bureau (100-442529) (Encl. 11) (RM)
 - (1-100-106670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
 - (1-100-158790) (BAYARD RUSTIN)
- 3-Atlanta (100-6670) (Encl. 3) Searched
 - (1-100-5586) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) Indexed
- 1-NY (100-5718) (COMINFIL SCLC) Indexed
- 1-NY (100-46729) (BAYARD RUSTIN) (42)
- 1-NY (100-73250) (CLARENCE JONES) (42)
- 1-NY (100-111180) STANLEY LEVISON (42)
- 1-NY (100-136585) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (42) / 100-153735-1701
- 1-NY (100-149194) (COMINFIL SCLC) (41)
- 1-NY (100-) () (43)
- 1-NY (100-153735) (42)

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JMK:rmv
(17)

[Handwritten initials]

[Handwritten initials]

NY 100-153735

CLARENCE JONES

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED], Columbia University

LYL, 1954

b6

BAYARD RUSTIN

NY 2359-S*

b7C

NY 4212-S*

b7D

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
Pretext telephone call
June, 1964, and
[REDACTED]

This letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Secret~~" because it contains information from NY 3810-S*, NY 4212-S* and NY 694-S*. The first two sources furnish information of a highly sensitive information about the racial situation in the NY area and the Communist infiltration thereof; the last source furnished a concentration of information in the characterization of STANLEY LEVISON.

File--Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

648-16-83475-1 GPO

File 100-15375 Date 5/5/77
Class. Case No. Last Serial

Pending Closed

Serial No. Description of Serial Date Charged

1704 Serial sent to Bureau, per
Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,
titled; Bernard S. Lee v.
Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.
BuFile 62-117194d

Section #23

Employee

RECHARGE

Date

To: From:

Initials of Clerk

{

Date

{

Date Charged

Employee

Location

File--Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

o48-16-83475-1 GPO

File 100-153735 Date 5/5/77
Class Case No. Last Serial

Pending Closed

Serial No. Description of Serial Date Charged

1706 Serial sent to Bureau, per
Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,
titled; Bernard S. Lee v.
Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.
BuFile 62-117194d

Section #23

Employee

RECHARGE

Date _____

To _____ From _____

Initials of Clerk

Date

Date Charged

Employee

Location

8/2/65

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)
FROM : SAC, SEATTLE (100-27267) (P*)
SUBJECT: CIRM
IS - C

Re report SA FRED G. COOK at Seattle, 7/30/65.

On 7/31/65, [redacted] orally advised as follows:

b7D

A meeting of the State Board, Northwest District CP (NWDCP) with CP Youth was held the afternoon of 7/31/65, at [redacted] of [redacted], ORG-SEC, South Central CP Section and State Board member NWDCP. The meeting was approximately four hours in length. Present were the following:

b6
b7C

[redacted], members of State Board NWDCP;
BURT NELSON, chairman, NWDCP;
[redacted], member of District Committee, NWDCP and chairman East Madison - Long Shore CP Club;
[redacted], ORG-SEC, North Central CP Section;
[redacted], non-campus section, King County Youth Club of CP (KCYC of CP);
[redacted], on-campus section, KCYC of CP;
[redacted] and [redacted], members of KCYC of CP.

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[redacted]

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 9) (REG.) (AM)
 - 1 - New York (Info) (REG)
 - 3 - Seattle
 - (1 - [redacted])
 - (1 - 157-466)
- FGC:lps
(7)

b7D

100-153735-1707

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Deaton

SE 100-27267

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[REDACTED]

Attached hereto are Xerox copies of guidelines for discussion distributed at the 7/31/65, meeting. As noted in the outline, the discussion concerned the CP program in Seattle's predominantly Negro central district or as it is more commonly termed, the central area. Reference was made during the meeting to the forthcoming appearance in Seattle of one [REDACTED] (phonetic), not otherwise identified, on 8/13/65 or 8/14. Reference was also made to the forthcoming trial on assault charges of individuals implicated in the altercation on 6/20/65, which resulted in the fatal shooting of ROBERT L. REESE, Negro, by an off-duty Seattle policeman. Information pertaining to this incident is set forth in referenced report, pages 6-10, and 21, 23.

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The reference in the guidelines outline to "lessons of the City Hall sitings of '63" pertains to previous activity of the Central district Youth Club (CDYC), now defunct, which the CP intended to use as a vehicle to penetrate the Negro Youth. [REDACTED] advised discussion in this matter regarding the Central Area Youth Action Council (CAYAC) disclosed the CP continues to consider this as a vehicle for accomplishing their objectives among Negro youth in the central area and that they have distinguished CAYAC from CDYC in that:

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1. CAYAC is multi-issue rather than concentrating on one issue - a weakness of CDYC;
2. Efforts are being made to avoid personality weaknesses in the leadership such as occurred in the case of the CDYC. As noted in referenced report, pages 21, 22, CAYAC has been attempting to become involved in events following the REESE shooting.

The reference to [REDACTED] in Item II at the bottom of the outline pertains to selection of a successor to [REDACTED] Seattle City Councilman who has been missing in connection with an airplane flight. [REDACTED] advised there was no indication of CP connection on the part of [REDACTED] [REDACTED] described as a Negro woman residing in the central area. It was discussed at the above meeting that the NWDCP will support [REDACTED] as a successor to [REDACTED]. Following

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SE 100-37267

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the above meeting, [] was designated to call on []
for the first time to obtain campaign literature.

It was learned at the meeting that [], who has
been active in CAYAC, has passed his physical exam for
selective service and may be liable for induction shortly.

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LEM will be submitted upon receipt of written
report from []. Extreme caution will necessarily
be utilized in connection with utilization of the foregoing
information in view of the secrecy surrounding the
meeting and the closed nature of the attendants.

b7D

File--Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

648-16-83475-1 GPO

File 100-153735 Date 5/5/77

Class. Pending Closed Case No. Last Serial Date Charged

Serial No. 1709 Description of Serial
Serial sent to Bureau, per
Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,
titled; Bernard S. Lee v.
Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.
BuFile 62-117194d

Section #23
Employee

RECHARGE Date

To From

Initials of Clerk {

Date {

Employee Date Charged

Location



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
August 3, 1965

Bufile 100-442529
Bufile 100-434819

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Communist Influence in Racial Matters;
Freedomways Associates, Inc.
Internal Security - C

A confidential source recently furnished information reflecting that in July, 1965, one [redacted] of [redacted] Mississippi, contacted the office of "Freedomways" magazine, New York City, and stated that he and three other persons had set up a Freedom Center in the rural area of Clay County, Mississippi. He further stated that [redacted] the Project Director for the Clay County MFDP (Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party) told them that they might be able to obtain free copies of "Freedomways." He added that it would be valuable to use in a Freedom School and that the course they are setting up on Negro history might center around the issue of "Freedomways" dealing with Mississippi. b6
b7C

[redacted] expressed the hope that they could be helped and sent to "Freedomways" a subscription form giving his name and address so that copies of "Freedomways" could be sent to him. b6
b7C

The source also furnished information reflecting that copies of past issues of "Freedomways" including three copies of the issue on Mississippi had been sent to [redacted] by [redacted]. b6
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-153235-1710

Searched
Serialized
Indexed
Filed

~~Group I
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Communist Influence in Racial Matters;
Freedomways Associates, Inc.

The current issue of "Freedomways" is the Spring 1965 issue devoted to the theme "Mississippi: Opening Up the Closed Society," the Editor for which is [redacted].

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A characterization of Freedomways Associates, Inc., publisher of the magazine "Freedomways," is set forth in the Appendix pages.

A confidential source advised in July, 1962, that as of that period, O'Dell was considered a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, United States of America.

The source also furnished information reflecting that in June, 1965, [redacted], who identified herself as the Special Projects Coordinator of "Freedomways," advised an individual in New York concerning a benefit which the magazine was planning at which time she stated that such civil rights organizations as the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Council of Federated Organizations Office in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, have used many of the "Freedomways" articles at their conferences and orientation sessions.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Communist Influence in Racial Matters;
Freedomways Associates, Inc.

1.

APPENDIX

FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INCORPORATED

The records of the New York Secretary of State, Albany, New York, show that the certificate of incorporation of Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, was filed on March 2, 1961.

The Spring, 1964, issue of "Freedomways" is self-described as "A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement" published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York City.

On May 24, 1961, a source advised that a report was given on "Freedomways" at a meeting of the National Board, Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), held on May 24, 1961. It was stated that the original plan called for the publication to be openly Marxist, but that it was later decided it would not be avowedly a Marxist publication. Editorials are in the hands of a mixed group of Marxists and non-Marxists. It was stated that the central purpose of "Freedomways" is to develop a theory and positive criticism of currents in the Negro movement, as well as to raise the level of understanding and discussion taking place in Negro life today and to project a socialist and pro-Soviet orientation.

On May 25, 1961, another source advised that "Freedomways" was set up for the CPUSA by JAMES JACKSON, a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

New York, New York
August 3, 1965

Bufile 100-442529
Bufile 100-434819

Title Communist Influence in Racial Matters;
Freedomways Associates, Inc.

Character Internal Security - C

Reference is made to the memorandum, dated
and captioned as above at New York, New York.

All source (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished
reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor
conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the
FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents
are not to be distributed outside your agency.

DIRECTOR, FBI

8/3/65

SAC, NEW YORK

GIRM
IS-C
(Bufile 100-442529)
(NYfile 100-153735)
(OO:NY)

FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INC.
IS-C
(Bufile 100-434819)
(NYfile 100-144189)
(OO:NY)

On 7/13/65, NY 324-S* made available photographs of material maintained at the office of Freedomways Associates, Inc., 199 Broadway, NYC. Included was a letter dated "July 2" and addressed "Dear Sirs" from [redacted]

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[redacted] Mississippi. This letter stated that [redacted] and three others had set up a Freedom Center in Clay County and that the Project Director of the Clay County MDP had told them that they might be able to obtain free copies of "Freedomways." [redacted] also said that it would be valuable to use in a Freedom School. [redacted] also sent a subscription form to "Freedomways" with the amount indicated for a subscription crossed out, giving his name and address in Mississippi to whom "Freedomways" could be sent.

This letter also contained a notation signed by H. P. O'DELL stating that one copy of the Bu Bois issue of "Freedomways," three copies of the Mississippi issue and one copy of the Fall issue had been sent. This undoubtedly refers to the current issue, the Spring 1965 issue which is devoted to the

- 3-Bureau (100-442529) (Encls. 9) (RM)
- (1-100-434819)
- 1-Atlanta (INFO) (RM)
- 2-Jackson (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-91330) (HONOR FITS O'DELL) (42)
- 1-New York (100-152634) ([redacted]) (42)
- 1-New York (100-144189)
- ①-New York (100-153735)

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JPO:smg/kmm
(10)
K. m.

100-153735-1711

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
AUG 4 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Signature]

NY 100-144189

term "Mississippi: Opening Up A Closed Society," The Winter 1965 issue which was a special issue devoted to W. E. B. Du Bois and the Fall 1964 issue. The O'DELL is HUNTER PITTS O'DELL who is a Contributing Editor to "Freedomways" and the Editor of the Mississippi issue.

The source used to characterize O'DELL is NY 694-S*.

The photograph of the letter of 7/2/65, and the subscription form from [redacted] are being forwarded as enclosures with this letter to Jackson and no copies are being retained by New York. b6
b7c

There are nine copies of an LHM enclosed for the Bureau setting forth information contained in the above letter.

This LHM is classified "Confidential" because it contains information from the source used, the unauthorized disclosure of which could be detrimental to the defense interests of the US and result in the loss of sources of great value.

SAC, NEW YORK

8/4/55

SA [redacted] (46)

b6
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COMINFIL, STATEN ISLAND CORE
IS-C

Identity of Source [redacted]

Description of info Meeting, S.I. CORE, N.Y.

Date Received 7/21/55

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b7C
b7D

Original Located [redacted]

Pls. index on 100-153249: [redacted].

A copy of informant's report follows:

- 1 - New York [redacted] (INV.) [redacted] (46)
- 1 - New York 100-141162 [redacted] (46)
- 1 - New York 100-54303 [redacted] (46)
- 1 - New York 100-153735 (CIRM) (42)
- 1 - New York 100-153249 (41)

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(5)

100-153235-1712

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
1955	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Leah JK

Regular meeting and Annual Election of Staten Island Chapter, C.O.R.E. held at the Community Center of Markham Gardens Housing Project, Staten Island on July 14, 1965. About 15 people attended. Meeting began 8:45 P.M.

Newly elected officers for 1965-66 are:

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[redacted], chairman; [redacted], Vice-chairman; [redacted]
[redacted] Recording Secretary; [redacted], Corresponding Secretary;
[redacted], Treasurer; Committee chairmanships and assignments
were held over until changes are made by the chairman. After
the election, business items were discussed, including: An
invitation from the Elizabeth, New Jersey chapter of C.O.R.E. to
the S.I. chapter to attend a rally featuring [redacted] and to
discuss means of cooperation and coordination of activities. [redacted]
[redacted] made the announcement and [redacted] made comments on
the Elizabeth chapter. She described their wonderful "attitude"
and how "well organized" they were. She also mentioned past
contacts with people in that area of New Jersey who have been
very active in promoting C.O.F.O. (Council of Federated Organizations)
activity in Mississippi. After announcements were finished, [redacted]
spoke to the group of his plans for the future concerning the
chapter. Meeting ended 11:30 P.M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 7/30/65	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 4/23/65 - 7/20/65
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY JOHN C. SEATON	TYPED BY G. H. B.
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS-C	

REFERENCE

Report of SA JOHN C. SEATON, dated 4/30/65.

- P -

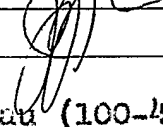
*2cc in [unclear]
1cc in [unclear]*

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report has been classified "~~Secret~~" because it contains information from NY 4092-S*, NY 4099-S*, NY 4212-S* and [redacted], all of whom hold sensitive positions with respect to the racial situation and the Communist infiltration thereof. In order not to jeopardize these sources, the secret classification is being used.

b7D

It is also being classified "~~Secret~~" because it contains information from NY 694-S* who furnished highly concentrated information in order to characterize STANLEY LEVISON. This classification is being used in order to protect this valuable source.

APPROVED 	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW		
COPIES MADE: 9-Bureau (100-442529) (RM) 1-G-2, First Army (RM) 1-Second OSI District, USAF (RM) 1-DIO, Third Naval District (RM) 4-New York (100-153735)		100	153735	-1714
		Searched	Serialized	Indexed
		Filed		
DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT		NOTATIONS		
AGENCY.....				
REQUEST RECD.....				
DATE FWD.....				
HOW FWD.....				
BY.....				

Meeting of Staten Island Chapter of C.O.R.E. at Markham Houses
Community Center, S.I. July 21, 1965 Meeting began 8:30 P.M.
About a dozen people attended.

General business items were discussed including:

1. Housing discrimination complaints;
2. Possible coordinated action with other organizations,
particularly the Urban League.
3. Committee assignments and scope of committee work;

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Also announcements were made of current activities (rallies and
fund-raising) being held by other C.O.R.E. chapters and groups
such as M.F.D.P. in the New York area. [redacted] and [redacted]
again spoke of the invitation from the Elizabeth C.O.R.E. chapter.

Meeting end 11:15 P.M..

NY 100-153735

ADMINISTRATIVE (CONTINUED)

Copies of this report have been disseminated to local intelligence agencies in accordance with Bureau instructions.

For the information of the Bureau, an appendix section has been utilized in this report for the purpose of characterizing individuals and organizations mentioned in the report. This appendix contains all of the individuals who can be characterized.

In addition to SA SEATON, this report was prepared by the following Special Agents:

JOHN W. ROBINSON - Progressive Labor Party
[redacted] - Socialist Workers Party

[redacted] - Congress of Racial Equality
RAYMOND E. NOHR - Negro American Labor Council
[redacted] - Southern Christian Leadership Conference

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It is noted that NY files contain no pertinent information concerning CORE Chapters in the NYC area other than Staten Island CORE. - On 7/7/65, Detective [redacted] [redacted] Bureau of Special Services, New York City Police Department, advised SA [redacted] that a review of their records indicate there have been no changes in any of the officers listed in the various chapters of CORE throughout the NYC area. These officers were set forth in the previous CIRM report and for the sake of brevity are not being repeated in this report.

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There was no pertinent information for this quarter for the NAACP.

There was no pertinent information for this quarter for the Workers World Party.

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The agents who observed activities at La Guardia Airport on 6/9/65, were [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted].

- B -

COVER PAGE

NY 100-153735

ADMINISTRATIVE (CONTINUED)

The agents who observed the arrival of KING and his party at Kennedy International Airport, NYC, on 5/12/65, were SAS [redacted] and [redacted] b6 b7C

The agents who observed the activities of STANLEY LEVISON and CLARENCE JONES on 6/2/65, were SAS JOHN C. SEATON and [redacted]. b6 b7C

Agents who observed the picketing at the FBI, NYC, on 6/21/65, are [redacted] and [redacted]. b6 b7C

Agents who observed the picketing at the US Courthouse, NYC, on 6/23/65, are [redacted] JOHN R. HAWKEN, [redacted] and [redacted] and JOHN C. SEATON. b6 b7C

Agents who observed the demonstration at the World's Fair on 4/25/65, are [redacted] NEIL P. DIVERS, and [redacted]. b6 b7C

Agents who observed [redacted] on 3/4/64, are THOMAS J. McNIFF and [redacted]. b6 b7C

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-1
[redacted]

[redacted] b7D

Used to characterize ALBERT BAKER b6 b7C

" " "
" " "
" " "
" " "
" " "
" " "
" " "

[redacted]
EUGENE GORDON, Sr.
JACOB GREEN
[redacted]
GEORGE MEYERS
BERNARD PARRISH
VICTOR PERLO

NY 100-153735

INFORMANTS (CONTINUED)

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-2
NY 2359-S*

NY T-3
NY 5056-S*

NY T-4

[Redacted]

b7D

Instant Report

(SCOPE)

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

Used to characterize THEODORE R. BASSETT

" " "
" " "
" " "
" " "
" " "
" " "
" " "
" " "
" " "

[Redacted]

JESSE GRAY

[Redacted]

GEORGE MORRIS

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

JAMES TORREY

[Redacted]

NY T-5

[Redacted]

b7D

[Redacted]

(SCOPE)

b6
b7C

Used to characterize

" " "

[Redacted]

NY T-6

[Redacted]

b7D

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

Used to characterize

" " "
" " "

[Redacted]

NY T-7

[Redacted]

b7D

NY 100-111609-188

NY 100-153735

INFORMANTS (CONTINUED)

Identity of Source

File Number where Located

NY T-8

[Redacted]

NY 100-97078-5623

[Redacted]

b7D

NY T-9

[Redacted]

NY T-10

NY 2440-S*

NY T-11

[Redacted]

Instant Report

[Redacted]

NY T-12

[Redacted]

Instant Report

[Redacted]

NY T-13

[Redacted]

NY T-14

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(SCOPE)

NY T-15

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(SCOPE)

NY T-16

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(SCOPE)

NY T-17

[Redacted]

Used to characterize [Redacted]

b6
b7C

NY 100-153735

INFORMANTS (CONTINUED)

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-18

b7D

b6

b7C

[Redacted]

Used to characterize

" " "
" " "
" " "

[Redacted]

NY T-19
NY 2760-S*

Used to characterize

" " "
" " "
" " "

HERBERT APTHEKER
PHILIP BART
GEORGE MEYERS
JACK STACHEL

NY T-20

[Redacted]

b7D

Used to characterize PHILIP BART

NY T-21

[Redacted]

b6

b7C

Used to characterize

" " "

[Redacted]

NY T-22

b7D

[Redacted]

Used to characterize

b6

b7C

[Redacted]

NY T-23
NY 4251-S*

Used to characterize

b6

b7C

[Redacted]

NY T-24

Former

[Redacted]

b7D

Used to characterize

b6

b7C

[Redacted]

NY 100-153735

INFORMANTS (CONTINUED)

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-25

b7D

[REDACTED]

Used to characterize [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

NY T-26
CG 5824-S*

Used to characterize GIL GREEN

" " "
" " "
" " "

[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

HENRY WINSTON

NY T-27
NY 694-S*

Used to characterize

JAMES JACKSON
IRVING POTASH
CARL WINTER
STANLEY LEVISON

b6
b7C

" " "
" " "
" " "
" " "

[REDACTED]

MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.

NY T-28

b7D

[REDACTED]

Used to characterize [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

NY T-29

b7D

[REDACTED]

Used to characterize

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

b6
b7C

" " "

[REDACTED]

NY T-30

b7D

[REDACTED]

Used to characterize [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

NY 100-153735

INFORMANTS (CONTINUED)

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-31

[Redacted]

b7D

Used to characterize

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

NY T-32

[Redacted]

b7D

Used to characterize MALCOLM X

NY T-33

[Redacted]

b7D

Used to characterize

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

NY T-34

[Redacted]

b7D

Used to characterize

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

NY T-35

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

(By Request)

Used to characterize

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

NY T-36

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

Used to characterize

[Redacted]

b7D

NY T-37

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

Used to characterize PATTIS PERRY

NY 100-153735

INFORMANTS (CONTINUED)

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-38
LOUIS F. BUDENZ
(By Request)

Used to characterize PAUL ROBESON

NY T-39
NY 4212-S*

NY T-40

b7D

[Redacted]

Used to characterize

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

NY T-41
NY 2794-S

Used to characterize

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

NY T-42

[Redacted]

b7D

Used to characterize

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

NY T-43

[Redacted]

b7D

Used to characterize

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

NY T-44

[Redacted]

b7D

Used to characterize

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

NY T-45

[Redacted]

b7D

Used to characterize

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

NY 100-153735

INFORMANTS (CONTINUED)

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-46

b6
b7C
b7D

[Redacted]

(By Request)

[Redacted]

b7D

NY T-47

b7D

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7D

NY T-48

b7D

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7D

Used to characterize
" " "

[Redacted]
[Redacted]

b6
b7C

NY T-49
NY 4092-S*

NY T-50
NY 3246-S*

NY T-51
NY 4099-S*

NY T-52
NY 5078-S*

NY T-53
Anonymous Source
of the WFO as set
out in report of
SA [Redacted]
dated 7/19/50, WFO
re: "NIA; IS-C"

b6
b7C

Used to characterize HARRY WACHTEL

NY T-54
NY 1190-S*

Used to characterize HARRY WACHTEL
" " "

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

NY 100-153735

INFORMANTS (CONTINUED)

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

NY T-55

[Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

In 1954
(By Request)

Used to characterize CLARENCE JONES

NY T-56

[Redacted]

b7D

Used to characterize [Redacted]

b6
b7C

NY T-57
AT 1380-S*

NY T-58
Former [Redacted]

b7D

Used to characterize [Redacted]

b6
b7C

NY T-59

[Redacted]

b7D

Used to characterize Harlem Defense Council.

LEAD

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK. Will follow and report pertinent activity in the field of Communist Influence in Racial Matters for the quarterly period ending 11/1/65.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~SECRET~~

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Date: July 30, 1965

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Title:

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

At meeting of National Negro Commission of CP, USA, on 4/23/65, GEORGE MEYERS said he would propose that small committees be set up in the North and the West to work under District leadership to help guarantee "our participation" in the South in an organized way and he felt the Party should have contacts with such organizations as Southern Conference Educational Fund, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and other groups which supply medical and legal aid in the South. MEYERS also commented the Party should operate in a more organized way by meeting with those who are going for temporary work in the South; these people should report back to the Party on their experiences. MEYERS felt there should be more permanent assignments in the South, particularly in areas of concentration; he stressed that mailing of Communist material should be done in a more organized way. MEYERS stated the Party should approach the question of the South with eagerness and optimism. At this meeting of 4/23/65,

~~SECRET
Group 1
Excluded from
automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

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CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT said he would propose that a substantial sum of money be arranged for work in the South. On 4/24/65, MEYERS submitted proposals of Negro Commission at a meeting of National Committee and invited guests and on 4/25/65, these proposals were adopted. Among the proposals were each District should set up small committees to work with the leadership in organizing work in the South, recruit Party members and try to make permanent assignments in areas of concentration, Districts should be responsible for getting written materials to these areas, prepare the cadre and educate members on reconstruction of the South, each District should work out plans to recruit Negro youths, keep the struggle for civil rights in motion and raise money for work in the South. On 5/28/65, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, in referring, to NAACP, said "we" must work to have a resolution put in that will allow "us" to work within that organization and with respect to NALC, he said "we" must work to make it more progressive. At a CP, USA, National Negro Commission meeting on 6/12/65, HENRY WINSTON stated there should be a resolution pointing out that Negro and white working class unity was essential and asking for better relationship between civil rights groups, progressive groups and trade union organizations; JACK STACHEL asked for Negro and white unity and emphasized that the Party should let the average American citizen know what it stands for and know what it is doing in the Negro struggle. On 6/11/65, [redacted] stated ^{b6} the possibility for a long hot summer is diminishing due ^{b7C} to anti-poverty program in Harlem. SWP made available pamphlets for use by SWP members to sell in Negro neighborhoods; one of the pamphlets contained two speeches by MALCOLM X. PLP continues its efforts among the Negroes. CP members continue to be active within NALC.

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DETAILS:

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I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

A. Communist Party, United States
of America. (CP, USA)

1. Plans, Strategy Made at
National Level of the Party

The CP, USA National Negro Commission held a meeting on April 23, 1965, at 23 West 26th Street, New York City (NYC), the CP, USA National Headquarters.

The following individuals were in attendance at the meeting:

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
HENRY WINSTON
JAMES JACKSON
TED BASSETT

[REDACTED]

PETTIS PERRY
EUGENE GORDON

[REDACTED]

ARNOLD JOHNSON
PHILIP BART
GEORGE MEYERS
JACOB GREEN

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, the Chairman of the CP National Negro Commission, called the meeting to order at 10:10 a.m. LIGHTFOOT mentioned that the meeting would have to be brought to a close by 1:00 p.m. that day because the CP National Board had to meet at 2:00 p.m. to prepare for the "Legislative Conference" which was to follow

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LIGHTFOOT made the request that act ^{b6}
as Chairman for the meeting. ^{b7c}

GEORGE MEYERS, the Organizer for the CP, Southern Region, was called upon to give a report on the "South".

MEYERS referred to his article entitled "Negro Labor Unity Against the Dixiecrats" which appeared in the April, 1965, issue of "Political Affairs".

MEYERS reviewed his article pointing out that many contradictions, including a powerful resistance to change, plagues the South as it shifts from an antiquated agrarian economy to a modern industrial society. He said that advances in agriculture and the rapid pace of industrialization and urbanization were forcing a political realignment which would bring the South more in focus with the national picture. He pointed out that 35 years ago, cotton accounted for half of the South's agricultural income, but today accounted for less than 18%. He pointed out that over six million people, 53% of whom were Negroes, had left the South in the last 30 years and millions more had moved from southern farms into southern cities. He emphasized that 60% of the South's population had become urbanized.

MEYERS said that industrialization was expanding rapidly in the South and corresponded closely to the national average. He said that the South was now the major base of the textile industry. MEYERS emphasized that the South was continuing to be the seat of racism and that reactionaries still maintained a strong hold in the various state governments in the South. MEYERS said, however, a growing working class, both Negro and white, was beginning to improve economic standards of the working people and the changing political complexion.

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MEYERS stressed the need and desirability of Negro-labor unity becoming more and more firmly established in both the trade union and civil rights movement.

MEYERS said that in conclusion he felt that there should be a broad national support for a program that includes organization of the unorganized, the elimination of the wage differential, the repeal of Section 14-b of the Taft Hartley Law, passage of Federal right-to-vote legislation and the demand that the Department of Justice rigorously move against the Ku Klux Klan and other ultra-right groups which resort to violence. This could be of concrete assistance in furthering these democratic developments.

After he reviewed his article, MEYERS said that he was recommending that each CP District be responsible for organizing Party work in the South. He suggested that each District set up a separate committee for this task. He felt that it was necessary to recruit new Party members in connection with work in the South and have them work in definite areas in that region. MEYERS pointed out that it was essential to raise money for the South in addition to the Southern Assessment Fund. MEYERS also requested that each District work on getting CP literature to the South and in this connection, each District could look up the names of individuals and organizations which might be receptive to such literature. MEYERS said that he wanted the Party to help in organizing unions in the South and above all, concentrate on Negro and white unity in the trade unions.

After he had made these recommendations, MEYERS said that he would like to have those present, in addition to backing him on the recommendations, make him responsible for organizational work in the South.

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LIGHTFOOT told the group that "the South is a must" and that he fully agreed with all of MEYERS' recommendations. LIGHTFOOT said that a lot of money was needed for work in the South and \$10,000 or more would be needed for this work in addition to the Southern Assessment Fund. LIGHTFOOT urged that each District work hard to raise money for the South and pointed out that a great deal of expense was going to be involved because people who went into that area would be gone from a month to six weeks at a time.

Those present indicated they wanted MEYERS to head up the work in the South and were fully in agreement with all of his recommendations.

JAMES JACKSON requested that MEYERS present these recommendations during the course of the CP National Committee meetings which were to follow that meeting.

NY T-1
April 28, 1965

The Ku Klux Klan has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

"Political Affairs" is the self-described theoretical organ of the CP, USA.

A meeting of the National Negro Commission of the CP, USA, was held at CP, USA Headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, New York City (NYC), on April 23, 1965. Among those in attendance were:

JAMES EDWARD JACKSON
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

GEORGE MEYERS
PETTIS PERRY
JAKE GREEN
THEODORE BASSETT
HENRY WINSTON

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acted as Chairman of the meeting and GEORGE MEYERS gave the main report, MEYERS stated that the changes taking place in the South today would act as a basis

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for discussion at this meeting. According to MEYERS, profound agricultural, economic and political changes were taking place. Industrialization in the South, he said, is creating many problems and the question of poverty is more advanced there than in any section of the United States, including Appalachia.

According to MEYERS, the most important growth in the South is among the working class, but most of this class remains unorganized. The changes in agriculture have forced the Negro to leave the farming and rural areas in search of employment in the larger cities. It was in the cities that the mass struggle for the Negro began on such issues as education, the right to public accommodations, etc., and this is now moving into the area of voting and the field of economic issues. MEYERS stated that these struggles are now reaching into the rural areas of the South. He noted that with a strong base established in the cities, it is now possible to conduct these struggles in the rural communities. Participation in the rural areas, like Selma, is a new thing. The fight for voter registration is now a key point in the civil rights struggle and is high on the agenda for the coming summer.

MEYERS stated that the Negro is becoming the balance of power in most Southern cities and in well over 100 rural communities, they make up the majority of the population. He said that voter registration will bring about dramatic changes in the political structure of the South. He said that the labor movement there continues to be weak and that in whole areas not a single union exists. The main reason he said being because of the relatively small working class. He noted that much of the leadership in the labor movement in building the Negro-labor coalition has come from the top in the highest level. MEYERS said that the South today is ready for organization because of low wages and poor working conditions. He noted that national trade union support of civil rights legislation is helping

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to lay the groundwork for a successful organizing drive based on Negro-white unity.

Continuing, MEYERS stated that in the State of Florida, the CP has taken a "beating" due to the "hearings," but they are beginning to move again. He said that in Florida, "we" have a Party, but it must be reorganized on a state-wide basis. There are forces in every part of the State and the perspective is good for building a strong solid Party, state-wide. He admitted that the people of Florida consist mainly of older and retired people, but he said they cannot take the position that these people are going to die off. MEYERS said that he would propose that small committees be set up in the North and the West to work under District leadership to help guarantee "our participation" in the South in an organized way. He felt that the Party should have contacts with such organizations as the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and other groups which supply medical and legal aid in the South.

Continuing, MEYERS commented that the Party should operate in a more organized way by meeting with those who are going for temporary work in the South. He said they should report back to the Party on their experiences. He felt there should also be more permanent assignments in the South, particularly in the areas of concentration, and he stressed that mailing of Communist material should be done in a more organized way.

He said that each District should have certain responsibilities and proposed that Ohio be responsible for the Appalachia area. The Party should particularly concern itself with the labor movement and said that the key role is to fight for Negro-labor unity. MEYERS, in commenting on the Alabama boycott, said that in his opinion, it was a very sound

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tactic. He noted that true white and Negro class union will result upon development of the economic issues and that this is the only guarantee that the civil rights movement will be lasting and permanent. MEYERS, in concluding his remarks, stated that the Party should approach the question of the South with eagerness and optimism. It is quite possible, he said, that this struggle can change the South from a cesspool of reaction to a base for progress.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT remarked the first task is to politically arouse the Party. He felt that what is needed was for the rank and file to have a clear understanding as to why the Party is in the fight. LIGHTFOOT said he would propose that a substantial sum of money be arranged for work in the South during the months of September, October, November and December. He said this would be a control period.

PETTIS PERRY stated that the Party should consider a cadre of operations and a preparation of a cadre for work in the South. He said that the Negro today is in a worse position politically in the South than he was 100 years ago. PERRY strongly urged the development of a cadre for work in the South.

JAMES JACKSON suggested the preparation of a catalogue of information, a handbook of material on the South.

An individual, believed to be JAKE GREEN, commented that the South is now the battle ground and if the CP is to survive and grow, this is where it will have to begin. He said the Negro is looking for guidance and method of work and this is where the Party can play a vital role. HENRY WINSTON, in concluding the meeting, congratulated MEYERS on his excellent report and said that great emphasis should be placed on the drive to organize the unorganized in the South. WINSTON felt that the Party must take the offensive, ideologically, politically and organizationally.

NY T-2
April 23, 1965

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GEORGE MEYERS, on April 24, 1965, at the Hotel Astor, New York City, at a meeting of the National Committee members of the CP and invited guests, submitted the following proposals which had been developed by the Negro Commission of the CP:

1. Each District should set up small committees to work with the leadership in organizing the work in the South.
2. Recruit Party members and try to make permanent assignments in areas of concentration.
3. Districts should be responsible for getting written materials to these areas.
4. The Party role in relation to the labor movement should be one of stimulating the idea of organizing the South.
5. Prepare the cadre and educate members on reconstruction of the South.
6. The Party leadership should prepare an informational catalogue on the South for the use of other groups.
7. Each District should work out plans to recruit Negro youths.
8. Keep the struggle for civil rights in motion.
9. Work to organize the unorganized in the South.
10. Raise a substantial amount of money in September-December, for work in the South. This money will be controlled by the Negro Commission.

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On April 25, 1965, the proposals presented by the Negro Commission were adopted at the meeting of National Committee members and invited guests. It was approved that each District give maximum support to the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party Challenge.

NY T-3
April 24, 25, 1965

On May 28, 1965, GIL GREEN, at CP Headquarters, New York City, gave a short report concerning a demonstration of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee in the recent past.

GREEN said he attended the meeting and at first was concerned whether there would be red-baiting of Communists and an attack on the Committee at the same time. GREEN said this did not happen even though it was not a Communist audience. According to GREEN, a representative of the Womens International League for Peace and Freedom had been asked if she had any objections of Communists being in leading positions in her organization and she replied, "No, if they agree with our program and work for peace-we screen nobody."

GREEN continued that there were representatives from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and from the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee at this demonstration.

GREEN said the most important factor of the demonstration was the merging of the issue of civil liberties with the issue of civil rights. According to GREEN, it was pointed out that the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) had received an appropriation of \$50,000 to ostensibly investigate the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). The civil rights movement wanted a commission, such as the Warren Commission, to investigate the killings in the South, but instead it was the President who gave the O.K. for the HUAC to investigate the KKK. This action constituted an endorsement of the HUAC and guaranteed the investigation of the KKK would be a whitewash.

NY T-2
May 28, 1965

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A meeting of top functionaries of the CP, USA took place on June 10, 1965, at CP Headquarters, New York City. TED BASSETT reported on a recent convention of the Negro American Labor Council (NALC). BASSETT reported that it was a small convention and that RANDOLPH proposed a resolution which called for stopping the war in Viet Nam. There were resolutions on the question of peace and economics. The convention was for a 35 hour week with no pay reduction; double time for overtime and a \$2.00 minimum wage. BASSETT reported there is a need for the NALC to be more progressive.

JACK STACHEL thought the NALC should follow up decisions of the National Labor Relations Board in the Plumber and Iron Workers Unions. They should make sure these decisions against discrimination are carried out. GIL GREEN said there must be a change in the leadership of the NALC before the members can be orientated properly.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT referred to a coming convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and said "we" must work to have a resolution put in that will allow "us" to work within that organization. As it now stands, he said, "we" cannot work with them with the anti-Communist resolution. This resolution must be repealed. LIGHTFOOT concluded by referring to the NALC, saying "we" must work to make it more progressive, more orientated.

GIL GREEN referred to the NAACP and noted that there is a large, growing ideological difference between the NAACP and other organizations. He said this has been caused by the American policy of buying off the Negro intellectuals. Big business snares the Negro intellectuals for exploitation. The leadership of the NAACP represents the section of the Negro who wants to become part of the establishment. They do not correctly see their role in the Negro struggle for equality. To succeed in the fight for a united Negro movement, pressure must be put on the leadership to follow the correct line. The left must take this initiative.

NY T-2
June 10, 1965

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There will be a CP, USA National Negro Commission meeting at 23 West 26th Street, New York City, which is the headquarters of the CP, USA, later in the month. According to the source, the discussion at the forthcoming meeting will concern plans for basic resolutions on the Negro question.

Among matters to be discussed at the meeting will be (1) stages in the struggle for Negro equality and political action; (2) Negroes and agriculture problems and solution; (3) problems and solutions, Negroes in industry; (4) discussion on how to win over white workers who are opposed to the advancement of the Negro worker; (5) features of the Negro question which reflect on their racial character; and (6) the role of Communist and left forces in the struggle for Negro equality.

NY T-1
June 3, 1965

On June 12, 1965, a CP, USA National Negro Commission meeting was held at the Chelsea Hotel, Room 903, New York City.

The following CP National leaders were present at the meeting:

JAMES JACKSON
HENRY WINSTON
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
GEORGE MEYERS
JACK STACHEL
HERBERT APTHEKER
IRVING POTASH
ARNOLD JOHNSON
CARL WINTER

Other CP members present at the meeting included:

JACOB GREEN

[REDACTED]

TED BASSETT

[REDACTED]

EUGENE GORDON
VICTOR PERLO

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JAMES JACKSON, at the outset of the meeting, made a lengthy report based on the following topics:

1. Stages in the Struggle for Negro Equality and Political Action.
2. Negroes in Agriculture.
3. Negroes in Industry.
4. The Problems of the White Worker who was opposed to the Advancement of the Negro Worker.
5. Features of the Negro Question which Reflect on their Racial Character.
6. The Role of Communists in the Struggle for Negro Equality.

In essence, JACKSON's report was an analysis of the Negro struggle for first class citizenship. JACKSON spoke at length on the Negro struggle in the South making reference to specific demonstrations and pointing out that mass participation in the securing of rights for Negroes was consistent with the Socialist movement as outlined in the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. JACKSON stated that the struggle of the Negro people had already caused many changes not only in the United States but in the world. He pointed out that the American Negro in particular was increasing his power in the government and politics by vote and mass action. He stated that although the Negro was making advances in industry, he was also suffering from the reactionary attitude of his white co-workers. JACKSON said that he was especially concerned with the Negro in agriculture. He stated that the Negro needed special consideration in this area because of the diminishing number of Negroes who own farms, and the increasing number of Negroes who were being tied to the soil as sharecroppers and tenant farmers. JACKSON called for working class unity and stated that it was to the advantage of the Negro to be allied with white workers who in the main suffered

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from the same exploitation as the Negro. JACKSON made a number of points which stressed the fact that the Negro should be for Socialism, but was unable to give a reason why the Negro was not in fact more active in the Socialist movement.

At the end of his report, JACKSON said that his report and the discussion which followed would be used to prepare a resolution for action by the CP.

At the outset of the discussion, [redacted] called for work in the Southern United States as the primary goal of the CP. b6 b7c

JACK STACHEL asked for Negro and white unity and emphasized that the Party should let the average American citizen know what it stands for and know what it is doing in the Negro struggle.

HERBERT APTHEKER said that integration was not assimilation and that the Negro was mainly interested in integration. APTHEKER said that the Negro people's struggle was a revolution in the Marxist sense.

APTHEKER also called for emphasis by the Party on current United States foreign policy, particularly in Viet Nam and Santo Domingo. He wanted the Party to focus attention on the educational system in the United States wherever discrimination was practiced and also urged that an attempt be made to see to it that Negro youth are drawn into the Socialist struggle.

GENE GORDON said that he felt that the Party should actively and openly support self-defense by the Negroes who were not protected by law enforcement agencies.

CARL WINTER asked that the resolution give a complete picture of the civil rights movement and point out that youth must play an important role in determining the goals of the day-to-day struggle.

HENRY WINSTON said that the resolution should point out that Negro and white working class unity was essential and asked for a better relationship between civil rights groups, progressive groups and trade union organizations.

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[redacted] asked that the resolution stress the role that women can play in the Negro movement and the need for a better home life for the Negro. She asked that the resolution definitely state that imperialism was the enemy of the working class and the Negro people. b6 b7C

At the conclusion of the discussion, JACKSON stated that self-defense for the Negro, a topic that had been raised by GENE GORDON and which had divided the comrades during the discussion, was not identifiable with the struggle against capitalism and could not be advocated or supported by the Party.

During the latter part of the meeting, some comrades from Baltimore criticized the national leadership for failing to present a program of action for the Negro people and working class comrades. GEORGE MEYERS, CP District Chairman, who lives in Baltimore, immediately disassociated himself from the criticism and said that it was distorted. The comrades from Baltimore who were led by JACOB GREEN Chairman of the CP of Maryland, then stated that the CP activity in the Baltimore, Maryland, area had not proceeded actively enough because of MEYERS' failures as a leader.

As a result of the Baltimore report, it was decided to send a member of the national leadership to Baltimore in the future to examine the situation there.

NY T-1
June 14, 1965

2. Plans, Strategy Made at District and Lower
Level Meeting of the Party

On March 27, 1965, a CP, USA, New York District Committee meeting was held at the Hotel George Washington.

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Among the proposals made and passed at the District Committee meeting were the following:

1. Task force for planning of concentration in the area of Puerto Rican work with emphasis in East Bronx, Brooklyn, Lower Harlem, Lower East Side.
2. Task force for planning of concentration in the area of Negro work with emphasis in Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Jamaica and East Bronx.

NY T-4
March 29, 1965

A meeting of the 11th A.D. CP Club was held on April 2, 1965, [redacted] was asked whether the Negro liberation movement struggle would be tied in with the March on Washington on April 17, 1965, which is being sponsored by Students for a Democratic Society, to protest the war in Viet Nam. [redacted] stated that the CP is trying to enroll the aid of the Negro Press, civil rights groups, to tie their struggle to the Viet Nam issue. He said the same people in Washington and the United States of America in general are fighting the liberation movement in the South and in Viet Nam. If the liberation movement on either front is stopped, the other front is sure to lose the struggle because these opposition forces are anti-Negro, anti-peace, anti-labor and anti-democracy.

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NY T-5
April 7, 1965

On June 2, 1965, there was a meeting of Harlem Communist Party members, interested in the Harlem Freedom Forum, and a representative from CP headquarters.

[redacted] started by stating that the Forum was very important to Harlem and that this meeting to formulate policy should have been held a long time ago. [redacted] [redacted], who was introduced as [redacted], explained that if

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the Forum was to continue to function successfully, it had to have closer cooperation with the CP. She stated that the Forum would have to have financial help and also physical help; that this was necessary to get out leaflets, etc., and that help was necessary from CP people.

[redacted] thought it was necessary to decide whether the Forum was to continue to exist. [redacted] agreed that policy should be formulated, stating that it was evident that the Forum had come to be more important to the CP than at first thought. [redacted] stated that if the Forum had been functioning last year, the CP would not have had to use JESSE GRAY. The impression was gained that unknown to GRAY, the CP had backed him because he was the only platform or vehicle; however, [redacted] stated that for future purposes, the CP could "speak" through the Forum. He stated that he did not want the Forum to be just the voice of the CP, but rather wanted it to be a broad mass organization through which the CP would speak. b6 b7C

[redacted] mentioned that the Freedom Forum should have the best Forums inasmuch as Columbia University is situated in their area. [redacted] suggested that the Forum have a "Study-in". b6 b7C

[redacted] mentioned that they would need money and help. [redacted] stated that the CP did not have money, but that probably the CP could take care of getting leaflets printed. [redacted] is to see [redacted] and JIM TORMEY about this matter. The "Study-in" is tentatively scheduled for August 26, 1965. b6 b7C

NY T-6
June 3, 1965

[redacted] at a meeting of the 11th A.D. Club of the Harlem Region of the CP, on June 11, 1965, was asked what the possibilities were for a long hot summer in New York City. [redacted] stated that the possibility of turmoil in Harlem is diminishing, due to the anti-poverty program in Harlem. He stated that youngsters from the ages of b6 b7C

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18 to 25 years are being paid to do odd jobs in Harlem such as cleaning out dirty lots and yards, to landscape the area, and some are getting on the job training. According to [redacted], this is putting money in the pockets of the youngsters, and occupying their minds.

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[redacted] stated that with the death of MALCOLM X, the Black Muslims are not too active at this point and that this has made for a tranquil Harlem.

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NY T-5
June 16, 1965

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3. Plans as Revealed in Party Publications

"The Worker" is an East coast Communist newspaper.

"The Worker" of June 13, 1965, contains an editorial in which it was stated that the spreading of the Ku. Klux Klan must be stopped.

"The Worker" of June 22, 1965, in an editorial column, stated that it is time that the President be made aware of the fact that all decent people in this country and the world around demand that he take effective measures to put an end to the outrageous mass arrests of hundreds of Negro and white Americans by the Mississippi authorities for exercising their constitutional right of petition and assembly in protesting the new crop of racist laws which the state's legislators have just enacted.

According to this editorial, it is time to put "the outlaw State of Mississippi" under Federal Trusteeship until the norms of constitutional /^{rights} American citizens can be established through Federally policed free elections. It continues that Mississippi has made a mockery of democracy and the challenge to all is to bring real democracy into play to remake Mississippi.

"The Worker" of July 4, 1965, contains an article by GEORGE MORRIS in which he reviews a book by RAY MARSHALL entitled "The Negro and Organized Labor". The book, according to MORRIS, is the latest work in the civil rights field concerned mainly with experience in the trade union and economic field and the problems affecting its next stage - "the fight for equality of job opportunity".

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According to MORRIS, the author does not examine one of the key questions of discrimination in unions and that is the right of Negroes to union office. He only touches on the fight in the auto union which began in 1943, when it was raised by the left. But it was not until 22 years later that a Negro was first named to the United Automobile Workers Board.

He stated that MARSHALL's book contains "the usual slurs of Communists on the Negro question". MORRIS said that one of these was that the Communists did not support Negro job rights during the war "when it was not in the interest of the Soviet Union". But he stated that MARSHALL in a number of places concedes that the Communists have played a very important role for Negro rights.

MORRIS indicated that the exclusion or holding down to token level of the Negro representation in union leadership is showing progress for equal rights in general in trade unions.

In "The Worker" of July 11, 1965, there appears an article captioned "Chicago CP Leaders Say Daley's Job Is Rights, not Redbaiting". The article which was date lined Chicago stated that Mayor RICHARD B. DALEY should concern himself with the conditions of the Negro people rather than to resort to red-baiting the civil rights movement; this statement came from a spokesman for the Illinois CP according to the article.

It was stated that Mayor DALEY told a televised news conference on June 30, that Communists had been drawn from all over the Midwest to protest the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in May held in Chicago. They remained, the Mayor said, to agitate for the dismissal of BENJAMIN C. WILLIS, the School Superintendent.

According to the article, Mayor DALEY said he had received a list of "Communists" from the Chicago Police Department; this list had eleven names on it.

NY 100-153735

According to the article, Mayor DALEY's charges were rebutted by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT and [redacted], Communist spokesmen, in a statement which was included in the article.

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According to this statement, Mayor DALEY's remarks attempting "to red-bait" the Chicago civil rights movements are the same as the statement the Mayor made some time ago when he said there are no Negro ghettos in Chicago. The statement said he is either ignorant or badly misinformed, and that they refuse to believe he is ignorant.

The Mayor, according to the statement, has refused to take a forthright stand for integrated, quality education; resists endorsing the "HAUSER and HAVIGHURST reports"; refuses to use the power of his high office to help break down JIM CROW walls in housing and education. He says he wants to keep politics out of education.

Now Mayor DALEY, according to the statement, "has brought the cheap politics of red-baiting into the controversy". It was stated that integration and quality education are not matters of partisan politics and they are certainly not the monopoly politics of the CP. It was pointed out that the Mayor should remember that integration is supposed to be the non-partisan politics of his own party and that many Republicans also claim to be for integration.

It was also stated that Communists support integration, and have done so for over 35 years, and it was noted that this is neither a startling revelation nor does it make a crime of integration, "just as it is no crime to be a Communist". The fact that Communists participate in demonstrations for integration is likewise no crime nor a startling discovery.

It was also stated that the civil rights leadership's rejection of Mayor DALEY's divisive attempts shows that they will not play this game of diversion and defeat which the Mayor is trying to set up.

NY 100-153735

The statement continued, "The Mayor would be advised to investigate the influence of the John Birch Society and the ultra-right racists in his Police Department Intelligence unit; the increasing brutality which police use against civil rights demonstrations; and the powerful real estate and financial interests which are behind the resistance to establishing democratic principles in our housing and educations patterns."

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NY 100-153735

B. OTHER COMMUNIST GROUPS

Progressive Labor Party (PLP)

A characterization of PLP appears in the appendix.

The PLP continues to publish its newspaper "Challenge" in New York City. The newspaper is now being published twice a month instead of weekly with a section in Spanish. "Challenge" continues to print articles of an inflammatory nature aimed directly at residents of Harlem and the Lower East Side of New York City. These articles concern police brutality against the Negroes and Puerto Ricans in New York City. Articles also appear with pictures of housing conditions that the poor people have to endure in New York City due to slum lords, "the phony politicians", and low wages paid to Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

On May 22, 1965, an outdoor rally was held at 129th Street and Lenox Avenue, New York City, sponsored by the Harlem PLP Club. One of the speakers a Negro male from North Carolina stated that the Chinese are now free because they obtained guns and chased the white man off of their land; the world over now respects the Chinese people for their show of force toward injustice. The speaker then indicated that if "we, the black people" obtain weapons, so that when evil and injustice are initiated against "us," "we" will use them so "we" too will be respected, because the white man understands nothing but force.

NY T-46
May 25, 1965

Source advised that the race situation in Harlem is getting somewhat tense and he feels that the greatest threat is still the PLP which is working through other organizations in Harlem.

NY T-47
May 6, 1965

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NY 100-153735

A source advised that the PLP had established a new PLP Spanish Harlem Club at 232 East 121st Street, New York City to be known as the Organization Defensa del Barrio. This club will not be openly known as a PLP Club for at least six months so as the Spanish people will not be scared away by the word Communist, that is associated with the PLP.

NY T-48
May 17, 1965

A source advised that on June 12, 1965, the Harlem Defense Council (HDC) sponsored a street rally at West 117th Street and Lenox Avenue, New York City. At this rally [redacted] [redacted] stated that each block in Harlem should be united and armed with guns and there should be a leader for each block. b6 b7C

At this street rally a person named [redacted] stated that "everyone should be armed and when the time comes we all know what to do". b6 b7C

[redacted], [redacted] of the PLP was also present at this rally and stated that why do they need White cops to protect them when "they are who we are against". b6 b7C

NY T-46
June 15, 1965

The source advised that on June 26, 1965, the Harlem Defense Council held a street rally at 115th Street and Lenox Avenue, New York City. During the rally, four people became involved in a fight which was broken up by the police officers on hand after one man was hit on the head and began to bleed. At this point [redacted] rose quietly and stated to the audience that the "Cops" waited until blood had to fall before doing anything to stop this terrible outbreak. b6 b7C

New York T-46
June 30, 1965

A characterization of HDC appears in the Appendix.

NY 100-153735

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP)

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On March 29, 1965, a letter was sent by the SWP, New York Local (NYL) to its members announcing that \$337.35 had been raised at a recent SWP Forum from the approximate 200 people present. This amount was to be given over to the defense of [redacted].

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NY T-8
April 5, 1965

A letter signed [redacted], [redacted] dated March 16, 1965, was sent to all locals and branches of the SWP. This set forth that two new pamphlets were available for use by SWP members to sell in Negro neighborhoods. One of the pamphlets contained two speeches by MALCOLM X and the other the text of a speech made at a memorial meeting for MALCOLM X. [redacted] wrote that the latter pamphlet presented a rounded evaluation of MALCOLM X's ideas and evolution and also explained the attitude of SWP to MALCOLM's movement.

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NY T-9
April 5, 1965

In its efforts to collect various speeches made by MALCOLM X in his life time, the SWP went to the extent of asking a contact in England to obtain tape recordings of speeches given in London by MALCOLM X.

NY T-10
April 30, 1965

As of May, 1965, the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI) and the followers of MALCOLM X (Organization of Afro-American Unity)(OAAU) were receiving moral support from the SWP. The SWP had notified the above organizations that they would assist them in the publication of literature

NY 100-153735

and speeches of MALCOLM X. The SWP also pledged to aid in the defense of the followers of MALCOLM X if they were arrested, as in the case of the forum held where money was collected for [REDACTED]. The expected outcome of the liaison by the SWP was a coalition with Negro workers who had been in the vanguard of the coming revolution. It was believed that these groups had in common their militancy and their revolutionary aspirations. The SWP felt that it could reap benefits also from its relationship with the OAAU in the form of recruits to the party.

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NY T- 8
May 4, 1965

NY 100 - 153735

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

A. DEMONSTRATION BY CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
(CORE) AT NEW YORK WORLD'S FAIR, 4/25/65

Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) observed a demonstration by various local chapters of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) at the New York World's Fair on April 25, 1965. The demonstration commenced at 11:45 am in front of the New York Pavilion. Approximately 85 individuals representing CORE demonstrated. The purpose of the demonstration as indicated in CORE handbills circulated at the Fair, was for the following:

1. Quality integrated schools
2. 200,000 low income housing units
3. Civilian Review Board
4. Jobs
5. Community participation and representation in the anti-poverty program.

The handbills stated that Mayor ROBERT F. WAGNER opposes all of these critical needs and that "CORE" still wants a Fair World" and that "Mayor WAGNER wants a World's Fair." The handbills called for opposition to Mayor WAGNER's re-election.

Ten counter-pickets representing The Society for the Prevention of Negroes Getting Everything (SPONGE), described as a pro-segregationist group from Brooklyn, New York, conducted a counter-demonstration commencing at 12:30 pm at the New York City Pavilion. They carried signs which read as follows: "White People, United We Stand, Divided We Fall", "I am Jim Crow, I will Live Forever", "Let's Put A Stop To This Black Nonsense", "Society For Prevention of Negroes Getting Everything", "White Americans Awaken to This Black Communist Threat".

A brief incident flared up between a SPONGE picket and one from CORE, which resulted in a brief exchange of fisticuffs between the two. They were quickly separated by police.

NY 100-153735

JCS:smv

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No further incidents developed and no arrests were made. Both demonstrations terminated at 2:00 pm.

[redacted] of Brooklyn, New York, was identified as being among the CORE demonstrators.

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DETECTIVE [redacted] b6
Bureau of Special Services b7C
NYCPD
April 25, 1965

NY 100-153735

JCS:smv

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B. RALLY IN SUPPORT OF MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM
DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S CHALLENGE, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK, 6/20/65

A rally in support of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's challenge to the seating of five "illegally" elected Mississippi Congressmen was held on Sunday afternoon, June 20, 1965, from 3 pm to 5:30 pm at Tompkins Park, Brooklyn, New York, which is located in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn. This rally was held under the auspices of the New York Ad Hoc Committee in support of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) located at 514 West 126th Street, New York City. About one thousand individuals attended this rally which was addressed by Mayoral Candidates, PAUL O'DWYER, New York City Councilman, Representative JOHN LINDSAY, Republican; and Representative WILLIAM FITTS RYAN, Democrat.

JAMES FORMAN, Executive Secretary of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and Mrs. FANNIE LOU HAMER from Mississippi were also speakers at the rally. The speakers generally supported the challenge to the seating of the Mississippi Congressmen and supported voting rights for Negroes in Mississippi.

The following people were present at this rally:



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NY T-7
June 21, 1965

NY 100-153735
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(1)

C. Picketing of Federal Bureau of Investigation Office
New York City, on June 21, 1965

From 4:30 PM to 7:10 PM on June 21, 1965, a peak number of 90 individuals, under the sponsorship of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City, and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), 38 Park Row, New York City, picketed outside the New York Office (NYO) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

The pickets were addressed by speakers who demanded a federal "injunction" calling for the release of civil rights workers now in jail in Jackson, Mississippi. The speakers further stated that the demonstration in front of the New York Office of the FBI was to commemorate the deaths of three civil rights workers who were slain in Mississippi last summer. The speakers also demanded that the United States Government provide strong federal protection by federal agencies such as the FBI for civil rights workers in the South.

The aforementioned speakers were:

[redacted] (phonetic), a minister; [redacted] [redacted], Chairman of the Bronx, New York Chapter of CORE; MATT JONES, SNCC member from the South and a folksinger; [redacted] Northeast Regional CORE Director; and ELLA BAKER, a representative of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF).

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A characterization of the SCEF appears in the appendix attached hereto.

The pickets demonstrated in an orderly fashion behind police barricades on the Third Avenue side of the New York Office, 69th Street and Third Avenue, New York City.

Special Agents of the FBI observed this demonstration on June 21, 1965, and observed in the picket line were [redacted] and [redacted].

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NY 100-153735
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D.
Demonstration At United States Courthouse, New York City, on
June 23, 1965

[redacted], Captain of the Guards, United States Courthouse (USCH), Foley Square, New York City, on June 23, 1965, furnished the following information: b6
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At approximately 8:00 AM, June 23, 1965, a group of sixteen pickets representing the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), chained themselves to the main entrance of USCH, Foley Square, New York City. The chained pickets were blocking the main entrance to USCH and traffic in and out of the building was rerouted to a side entrance.

Special Agent personnel of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) observed an additional group of demonstrators, approximately 40 in number, parading in front of USCH and carrying signs bearing letters "Mississippi". A leaflet handed out by the demonstrators set forth the purpose of the demonstration as follows:

"Last week, almost a thousand persons were arrested in Jackson, Mississippi, for attempting to make a protest march to the State Capital. They were led by members of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which is now challenging the right of the five congressmen from Mississippi to sit in Congress.

"600 of these people are still in jail. Dozens have been beaten by police. Two women have had miscarriages. Doctors from the Medical Committee for Human Rights have been refused admission. Lawyers are no longer admitted inside the jail.

"We protest the failure of the Federal Government to take action in this intolerable situation. We demand a federal injunction which would prohibit the Jackson authorities from arresting persons for conducting peaceful demonstrations. We demand that all the persons now in jail be released immediately, without bail, before further harm can be done to them. We urge you to support the challenge of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party."

The leaflet indicated that the demonstration was sponsored by SNCC and CORE.

NY 100-153735

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At approximately 9:30 AM, United States Marshals clipped the chains binding the pickets to the main entrance and arrested the pickets, 16 in all, under New York Penal Law 722 (disorderly conduct) and United States Code, Title 18, Sections 3 and 7.

Deputy United States Marshal [redacted] furnished the following information on June 23, 1965: b6
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While the arrest of the 16 persons was being made Deputy United States Marshal [redacted] was kicked in the groin by a picket and hospitalized. b6
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Among those arrested was [redacted], born [redacted], [redacted] of [redacted], New York City. b6
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Special Agent personnel observed that from ten to twenty pickets continued the demonstration in front of USCH until 4:40 PM when the demonstration terminated without further incident. Observed among the demonstrators was [redacted]. b6
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NY 100-153735

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE
IN RACIAL ORGANIZATIONS

A. CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

The Congress of Racial Equality will be referred to as CORE in this report unless reference is being made to a chapter of CORE. The designation then will be preceded by the name of the chapter.

The Communist Party, United States of America, will be referred to as the CP, USA.

Proposed Plans and Activities

On July 6, 1965, [redacted], Director of CORE Scholarships, Education and Defense Fund (SEDF), 150 Nassau Street, New York, New York, advised SA [redacted] that a new direction has been given to CORE work in the civil rights field toward community organization and political action. Whereas CORE previously depended entirely on its CORE chapters, consisting of small groups of dedicated people, who were willing to give up tremendous amounts of time and energy to get things done, CORE now will seek to operate through community organizations and political action. The civic organizations in the southern communities will be the media through which CORE will seek to operate in the civil rights field, as well as its local chapters. CORE will endorse political candidates for public office. It will exert pressure on Congressmen through lobbying, and attempt to secure things such as street lights, sewerage and extended postal service for southern communities.

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[redacted] further stated that CORE is presently engaged in extensive voter registration activity in the South. The drive is concentrated mainly in South Carolina, northern Florida, Louisiana and some individual cities in other places. Gains have been made by significant increases in the number of registered voters.

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[redacted] furnished a brochure which stated that the CORE SEDF was established in 1963, to provide a number of basic, and previously neglected, services to the civil rights movement. Chief among these is making educational opportunities available to young people who have demonstrated

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WHB:mjb

exceptional character, a capacity for community leadership and a serious commitment to the civil rights movement. The brochure stated that CORE SEDF has accepted major responsibilities in voter registration education and in furnishing legal counsel where it is needed most urgently-- in the often remote places where small groups of civil rights workers wage a lonely struggle.

The July 7, 1965 issue of the "New York Herald Tribune", a daily New York City newspaper, contained on page six an article entitled "'Greatest' CORE Convention." This article stated as follows:

" CORE's director, JAMES FARMER, said the group's just-ended convention in Durham, North Carolina, was 'the greatest in history' because it charted a new course for the civil rights movement. Delegates approved resolutions supporting Chicago demonstrations to oust School Superintendent BENJAMIN C. WILLIS; repeal of right-to-work laws and organization of 'marginal workers' such as migratory laborers, hospital staff members and employees of non-profit groups; massive public-works projects to provide immediate jobs for the unemployed and unskilled; construction of housing that would allow low-income people to 'enjoy quality integrated schools and community facilities of a multi-racial character.' CORE also proposed a Federal program of rent control."

Location

On July 6, 1965, [redacted], previously mentioned, advised SA [redacted] that CORE's national offices are located at 38 Park Row, New York, New York, and that the CORE SEDF is located in a separate office at 150 Nassau Street, New York City. b6 b7c

Officers

On July 6, 1965, [redacted] advised that the national officers of CORE are: b6 b7c

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National Director
Associate Director
Organization Director
Community Relations
Director
Director of CORE SEDF

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STATEN ISLAND CORE (S.I. CORE) CHAPTER

Location

S.I. CORE is scheduled to hold its meetings on the first and third Tuesdays of the month at the Markham Community Center, Markham Housing Project, Broadway and Richmond Terrace, Staten Island, New York, but this schedule is not strictly adhered to.

NY T-11
June 25, 1965

From time to time, a meeting of one of the committees, such as the officers of S.I. CORE, will hold a meeting separate and apart from the scheduled meetings
of S.I. CORE

NY T-12
June 28, 1965

Officers

The following list of officers of S.I. CORE was made available:



Chairman
Vice Chairman
Recording Secretary
Corresponding Secretary
Treasurer
Education Committee Chairman

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NY 100-153735

WHB:mjb

[redacted] Facts and Investigations
Committee, Chairman

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NY T-12
June 28, 1965

S.I. CORE has a total membership of 700 individuals which includes associates who are members in name only, but who joined S.I. CORE in order to assist it in its activities by paying \$3.00 yearly dues, which is the dues assessment for both active and associate members.

There are about 18 members in S.I. CORE.

Some of the associate members of S.I. CORE are [redacted] and [redacted]

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NY T- 11
June 25, 1965

Activities of S.I. CORE

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[redacted] and [redacted] were among the CORE members at a regular meeting of the S.I. CORE which was held on April 6, 1965, at the Markham Community Center, Staten Island, New York.

NY T-13
April 7, 1965
NY T-11
April 9, 1965

At the above-mentioned S.I. CORE meeting which was held on April 6, 1965, [redacted] read a letter she had received from someone in Shaw, Mississippi, regarding an automobile which S.I. CORE had donated to the voter registration drive. [redacted] told the group that the auto had been destroyed by a "Molotov Cocktail".

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NY T-13
April 7, 1965

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WHB:mjb

[redacted] attended a meeting of S.I. CORE which was held on May 18, 1965, at the Markham Community Center, Staten Island, New York, and participated in all the discussion. On at least three occasions, he commented on civil rights matters by making references and comparisons in United States activities in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, but his comments were generally ignored.

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NY T- 13
May 21, 1965

[redacted] and [redacted] were present at a meeting of the S.I. CORE which was held on June 16, 1965, at the Markham Community Center, Staten Island, New York.

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NY T-i2
June 24, 1965

RFM:pml

NY 100-153735

B.
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL (NALC)

Investigation of the NALC is directed solely towards establishing the extent of Communist influence. The Federal Bureau of Investigation is not investigating the legitimate activities of this organization.

The Negro American Labor Council will be referred to in this report as the NALC. The Greater New York Chapter of the NALC will be referred to as the NYNALC and the Communist Party, USA as the CP.

In July 1959, more than seventy five Negro Trade Union leaders met in New York to explore the possibility of establishing an organization designed to fight discrimination in industry, government and trade unions. After much planning, the NALC was officially founded in Detroit, Michigan, May 28, 29 and 30, 1960. A PHILIP RANDOLPH, veteran trade union leader and President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, was elected President at the Founding Convention. At the Second Annual Convention held in Chicago, Illinois, November 10, 11, and 12, 1961, the NALC broadened its membership base to include not only trade unionists, but all Negro workers in response to the developing job crisis suffered by colored workers.

Location

The National and NYNALC Offices are located at 217 West 125th Street, New York City.

NY T-4
July 7, 1965

I. INTEREST OF THE COMMUNIST
PARTY IN THE NALC

The New York District, Trade Union Commission of the Communist Party (CP) met on March 14, 1965, at

[redacted] [redacted]
[redacted] New York City. Among those in attendance were
[redacted], [redacted] and [redacted].

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[redacted] gave a report on the work he had done in the Brewery struggle to gain union membership and steady jobs for a group of Negro casual workers. [redacted] stated that the Brewery Industry had a long history of discrimination and that there also was a history of past attempts by Negroes to get into the industry. He referred to the agreement that had been signed by the breweries; the NALC and the New York City Commission on Human Rights. [redacted] further pointed out that he is now the recognized leader of the Negro men shaping-up at the union hiring hall and has sat in on all the union meetings held between the NALC, the unions and the industry that have taken place.

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[redacted] gave a report on the NALC work in general. She stated that attempts will be made on the part of the NYNALC Caucus to get the NYNALC interested in making a push for intergration in the building trades. She stated that there was a good possibility that because of the agreement reached in the Brewery Industry that it can be applied in the building trades.

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[redacted] and [redacted] were commended for their work in the NALC.

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NY T- 14
March 31, 1965

Source confirmed that a New York District Trade Union Commission of the CP held a meeting on March 14, 1965 at [redacted] mentioned above.

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NY 100-153735

Source also identified [redacted] and [redacted] in attendance and confirmed in substance the information furnished by the above source.

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NY T-4
March 14, 1965

The 11th A.D., Club of the Harlem Region of the CP held a meeting on March 19, 1965 at 334 East 108th Street, New York City.

Among those present was [redacted]

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[redacted] reported that the NALC was preparing a convention in April or May scheduled for St. Louis, Missouri and stated he would make a detailed report of the NYNALC at the next meeting of the Club.

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NY T-5
March 24, 1965

The Executive Board of the New York District CP Trade Union Commission held a meeting at 11 Fort George Hill, New York City.

Among those present were [redacted] and JAMES TORMEY.

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JAMES TORMEY chaired the meeting. He discussed the NALC victory in the Brewery Situation in Brooklyn. He stated that now the party should interest the NALC in the Building Trades Industry. He stated further that he had recently met with ex-Party persons in the building trades, as well as an ex-Party person who is a plumber and had discussed with them this idea. He stated they were very enthusiastic about the idea, and hoped the NALC would take an interest in this situation.

[redacted], also mentioned that the Party should become active in the Building Trades Industry as it would fit in with President JOHNSON's War on Poverty. She added that this industry was one where quite a few jobs could be found. However, the one problem they

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NY 100-153735

would have to overcome was to get a qualified Negro plumber and make him active in the NALC. She also asked that the different Party clubs in the Industrial Division of the CP should make some of their members active in the NALC, so as to help the Party in its work within that organization.

NY T- 4
March 22, 1965

On March 21, 1965, a National CP Negro Commission meeting was held at the Hotel Woodstock, New York City.

Among those in attendance was [redacted] b6
[redacted] b7C

[redacted] made a short report concerning NALC activities in which she mentioned the recent victory of the Brewery situation in Brooklyn, New York and charging that the Party should concentrate on the NALC and work within that organization in any future work that was desired. b6
b7C

NY T- 4
March 22, 1965

Source advised that the 11th A.D., Club of the Harlem Region of the CP held a meeting on April 2, 1965, at 74 St. Nicholas Avenue, New York City.

Among those present was [redacted] b6
b7C

[redacted] reported on the Vietnam situation and stated the NALC, with whom he is also affiliated, sent a telegram to President JOHNSON to bring the troops out of Vietnam and send them to Selma, Alabama. b6
b7C

NY T- 5
April 7, 1965

RFM:pml
NY 100-153735

On April 10, 1965, a CP New York District Committee meeting was held at the Hotel Edison, New York City.

Among those identified as in attendance were [redacted] and JAMES TORMEY. b6 b7C

TORMEY gave a general report on the history of the NALC from its inception several years ago to the present time. He mentioned that several Party members had formed a Caucus Group and had done a terrific job in the NALC. He mentioned that they had won victories and pointed out as an example the recent Brewery settlement in regard to hiring Negroes in the union. He mentioned the Caucus Group at this time desired to concentrate next on the Building Trades Industries, where many jobs can be obtained by minority groups.

NY T-4
April 15, 1965

On April 11, 1965, source advised a CP, New York City District Trade Union Commission meeting was held at 11 Fort George Hill, New York City.

Among the CP members identified in attendance were [redacted], [redacted], [redacted] and JAMES TORMEY. b6 b7C

TORMEY gave a report on the taxi strike and the NALC. He mentioned that the labor movement in New York City had raised a million dollars for a drive to organize the unorganized in New York City.

NY T-4
April 15, 1965

RFM:pml
NY 100-153735

Source advised that on May 28, 1965, the 11th A.D., Club of the Harlem Region of the CP held a meeting at 13 West 127th Street, New York City.

It was stated at the meeting that [redacted] and [redacted] were absent from the meeting due to their attendance at the NALC Convention as delegates. b6 b7C

NY T-5
June 2, 1965

On June 11, 1965, a meeting of the 11th A.D., Club of the Harlem Region of the CP met at 13 West 127th Street, New York City.

[redacted] and [redacted] were present. b6 b7C

[redacted] reported on the recent NALC Convention held in Yonkers, New York. [redacted] stated there were 138 delegates from all across the country attending and a total of 250 individuals made up the conference. b6 b7C

NY T-5
June 16, 1965

A meeting of the top functionaries of the CP took place on June 10, 1965, at CP Headquarters, New York City.

Among those present were TED BASSETT, JACK STACHEL and GIL GREEN.

BASSETT reported on the recent NALC Convention. He stated that it was a small convention and that RANDOLPH (A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, President, NALC) had proposed a resolution calling for stopping the war in Vietnam. There were other resolutions on the questions of peace and economics. The convention was for a 35-hour week with no pay reduction; double time for overtime and a two dollar minimum wage. BASSETT reported that there is a need for the NALC to be more progressive.

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NY 100-153735

JACK STACHEL thought the NALC should follow up decisions of the National Labor Relations Board in the Plumber and Iron Workers Unions. They should make sure these decisions against discrimination are carried out.

GIL GREEN said there must be a change in the leadership of the NALC before the members can be orientated properly.

NY T-14
May 26, 1965

II. NYNALC CP AND/OR
RELATED ACTIVITY

A meeting of the CP Caucus of the NYNALC was held at 435 East 9th Street, New York City, on March 6, 1965. The following individuals were in attendance, [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], and [redacted].

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The meeting dealt with the party held by [redacted] in Brooklyn, New York on February 20, 1965, to raise funds for the transportation of the Caucus members to the NALC Convention scheduled for St. Louis, Missouri.

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[redacted] reported that after expenses, \$41 profit was made. She criticized the Caucus members for not bringing more people to the party.

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b7C

NY T-15
March 15, 1965

Sources confirmed that a CP Caucus meeting of the NYNALC took place on March 6, 1965, as mentioned above.

RFM:pml
NY 100-153735

Sources also identified the same individuals in attendance and substantiated in general the information furnished by the above source.

NY T-4
NY T-16
March 8, 1965

On March 9, 1965, the NYNALC held an Executive Board meeting at 27 West 125th Street, New York City.

The CP members recognized in attendance included [redacted], [redacted], [redacted] b6
b7C

NY T-4
March 14, 1965

Source stated that a CP Caucus meeting of the NYNALC was held on March 12, 1965, at 435 East 9th Street, New York City.

The following individuals were identified in attendance: [redacted], [redacted], [redacted] b6
[redacted], [redacted], JAMES TORMEY and HENRY WINSTON. b7C

[redacted] chaired the meeting. b6
b7C

The topics of discussion included areas of concentration of the NALC; the forthcoming NALC National Convention and the forthcoming elections of the NYNALC.

TORMEY stated that the main concentration of the NALC should be centered in the Building Trades Industries, particularly in the Plumbers Local.

RFM:pml
NY 100-153735

He stated the second area of concentration should be the Garment Industry. He indicated there were no Negro cutters in the Garment Industry and this situation must be changed. Those in attendance agreed with TORMEY.

NY T-15
March 15, 1965

Source confirmed that a NYNALC Caucus meeting took place on March 12, 1965, as mentioned above.

Source identified the same individuals in attendance and confirmed in substance the information furnished by the other source. In addition, the source stated that [redacted] mentioned that [redacted] had been added to the Executive Board of the NYNALC.

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NY T-4
March 14, 1965

On April 13, 1965, a meeting of the Executive Board of the NYNALC was held at NALC Headquarters, 217 West 125th Street, New York City.

The following known members of the CP attended this Executive Board meeting: [redacted], [redacted], [redacted] and [redacted].

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NY T-14
April 14, 1965

On April 16, 1965, a NYNALC CP Caucus meeting was held at 784 Madison Street, Brooklyn, New York. Those in attendance included [redacted], [redacted], JACK TORMEY, [redacted] and [redacted].

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RFM:pmf
NY 100-153735

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b7C

[redacted] chaired the meeting.

[redacted] announced that the NALC Convention would be held in May, 1965, in Westchester County, New York. She stated there was 700 members in the NYNALC and 600 of them were delinquent in dues. [redacted] was asked to pay up her NALC dues which she did and gave the money to [redacted].

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JAMES TORMEY stated that [redacted] of the Building Trades Club of the CP would act as a Liaison between the NYNALC Caucus Group and the Building Trades Men that TORMEY and [redacted] would contact.

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b7C

TORMEY spoke of enlarging the NYNALC Caucus and stated he would bring an individual from District 65 and one from the Hospital Workers, Local 1199, whom he thought would be good additions to the Caucus Group.

NY T-4
April 23, 1965

Sources confirmed that the NYNALC CP Caucus meeting was held on April 16, 1965, as stated above.

The sources also identified the same individuals in attendance and in general substantiated the information furnished by the other source.

NY T-14
April 16, 1965

NY T-16
April 19, 1965

NY T-15
April 20, 1965

RFM:pml
NY 100-153735

Source advised that on April 28, 1965, a membership meeting of the NYNALC was held at NALC Headquarters, 217 West 125th Street, New York City.

The following CP members attended this meeting: [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] and [redacted].

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NY T-1h
April 30, 1965

On April 30, 1965, the NYNALC held its local elections for officers and Executive Board members.

The following persons were elected:

[redacted]

President
Vice-President
Treasurer
Secretary

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b7C

The following three CP members were elected to the Executive Board of the NYNALC:

[redacted]

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b7C

NY T-4
May 7, 1965

Source advised that on May 7, 1965, a meeting of the CP Caucus of the NYNALC was held at 248 West 64th Street, New York City.

In attendance were the following members of the CP Caucus: [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted], [redacted] and [redacted].

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RFM:pml
NY 100-153375

[redacted] attended the meeting very late.

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[redacted] reported that [redacted] had recently been elected to the Executive Board of the NYNALC.

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b7C

The decision was reached that a planned fund-raising party the Caucus had planned be called off. It was pointed out that since the NALC Convention would be held in Yonkers, New York, there was no need to raise funds for it. The money raised at the previous party held by [redacted] was given to her for her own use at the coming convention.

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NY T- 14
May 13, 1965

Source confirmed that a CP Caucus meeting of the NYNALC was held on May 7, 1965, as mentioned above.

Source identified the same individuals as in attendance at the meeting and substantiated in general the information furnished by the other source.

NY T-16
May 10, 1965

On May 12, 1965, an Executive Board meeting of the NYNALC was held at their headquarters, 217 West 125th Street, New York City.

The following CP members were present: [redacted] and [redacted].

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b7C

RFM:pmf
NY 100-153375

[redacted], [redacted] and [redacted] were named as delegates to the NALC National Convention from the NYNALC.

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It was decided that [redacted] name would be put in nomination for National Vice-President at the convention.

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NY T-311
May 13, 1965

On May 22, 1965, a meeting of the CP Caucus of the NYNALC took place at 61 Harrison Avenue, Brooklyn, New York.

The following were identified as in attendance: [redacted], [redacted], JIM TORMEY, [redacted], [redacted] and [redacted].

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b7C

[redacted] chaired the meeting.

The meeting dealt mainly with the NALC National Convention to be held at the Woodside Inn, Tuckahoe Road, Yonkers, New York on May 28-30, 1965.

Instructions were given to members of the Caucus to contact [redacted] for instructions when they arrive at Yonkers, New York.

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[redacted] was chosen to pass on instructions to the other Caucus members at the convention.

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b7C

JIM TORMEY mentioned he wanted the problem of intergrating the Plumbers Union brought up and discussed at the convention. TORMEY also stated the peace issue should be brought up at the convention, and made inquiry as to what union would bring it up.

RFM:pm1
NY 100-153375

[redacted] stated his union, Local 3, Bakery Workers Union, Long Island City, had issued a statement on the peace question. He stated he would try to see if his union would send a telegram to the convention concerning the peace issue. b6 b7C

NY T-15
May 24, 1965

Sources confirmed that a CP NYNALC Caucus meeting took place on May 22, 1965, at the above mentioned address.

Sources identified the same individuals in attendance and reported generally the same information as furnished by the above source.

NY T-14
May 26, 1965

NY T-14
May 26, 1965

The Fifth Annual Convention of the NALC was held on the weekend of May 28-30, 1965, at the Westchester Town House, Yonkers, New York.

On Friday afternoon, from 2 to 5 p.m., there was a workshop session.

[redacted] (President, District 65, Retqil, Wholesale and Department Store Union, AFL-CIO) was one of the speakers. b6 b7C

On Friday evening at approximately 8 p.m. there was a rally at the Church of the Messiah, Yonkers, New York which was called a Public Education Rally.

RFM:pml
NY 100-153735

Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING was among the speakers.

On Saturday morning from 10 a.m. until about 12:30 p.m., there was a panel discussion on unemployment and the Negro workers.

Among the speakers at this panel discussion was BAYARD RUSTIN. There was an afternoon session of this panel discussion.

[redacted], President of Local 1199 (Drug and Hospital Employees Union; Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, AFL-CIO) was among the speakers.

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On Saturday night, May 29, 1965, there was a banquet and dance at the Westchester Town House and the admission was \$10 per person.

On Sunday May 30, 1965, there was just one session, held in the morning. During this session, the election of officers was held and A. PHILIP RANDOLPH was re-elected President of the NALC. The other National Officers elected were:

CLEVELAND ROBINSON

Assistant to the President
Secretary
Treasurer
Assistant Treasurer

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b7C

Among the Vice-Presidents elected was

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[redacted].

The following CP Caucus members of the NYNALC were in attendance at the convention: [redacted], [redacted], [redacted], [redacted] and [redacted].

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RFM:pml
NY 100-153375

There were no actual meetings held by the CP Caucus of the NYNALC to attempt to formulate policy or present resolutions at the convention.

NY T-11
June 3, 1965

Source confirmed that the NALC Convention was held at the above mentioned location on May 28-30, 1965.

Source, in addition, identified the same CP members of the NYNALC Caucus present at the convention.

Source, in addition, furnished information disclosing that [redacted] and [redacted] were among the 18 Vice-Presidents elected. b6 b7c

Source was of the opinion that the CP did not materially influence the NALC Convention at all.

NY T-11
June 8, 1965

NY 100-153735

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C. Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

"The Worker" in its issue of May 2, 1965, page three, contained an article "2000 Hail PAUL ROBESON at Freedomways Tribute." The article states that "an overflow audience of 2000 friends and admirers of PAUL ROBESON greeted him at the Hotel Americana the previous week on the occasion of the salute by "Freedomways" to ROBESON on his 66th birthday.

The article reflects that JOHN LEWIS, Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee spoke at this affair. The article states that LEWIS spoke of ROBESON's past accomplishments. It continues as follows:

"He too spoke of ROBESON's years of persecution and praised him for not compromising important principles. We of SNCC are PAUL ROBESON's spiritual children. We too have rejected gradualism and moderation. We are also being accused of radicalism, of Communist infiltration."

NY 100-153735

D. SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE,
NEW YORK AFFILIATE

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference will be abbreviated by the initials SCLC. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. is the President of SCLC which is headquartered in Atlanta, Georgia.

HARRY WACHTEL and BAYARD RUSTIN were in contact on April 15, 1965. RUSTIN agreed to a meeting at WACHTEL's office for that date. On the same date, [redacted] (Executive Director of SCLC) contacted RUSTIN. They discussed a proposed conference with United States Government officials. RUSTIN stated he and WACHTEL were concerned. He indicated the conference should be planned on a tentative basis only, so that they could get out of it if things began to look badly for SCLC. Furthermore, RUSTIN said they should insure that KING was not placed in a position where he could be criticized for leaving a conference of Government officials without getting anything. [redacted] stated that if the conference with Government officials was put off until some time in May, they could let things take their natural course "and just return to Alabama on Monday (April 19, 1965), thus focusing attention on the problem and bringing about greater understanding of the boycott." (The Alabama boycott). RUSTIN replied that he hoped that that was the case, but thought KING wanted to get rid of "this thing" (the boycott) at any cost. [redacted] and RUSTIN concluded their contact noting that they would discuss these matters when they met on April 16, 1965.

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NY T-39
April 15, 1965

NY 100-153735

On April 16, 1965, [redacted] and RUSTIN were in contact. [redacted] advised that the meeting, which he was supposed to have attended April 15, 1965, in Washington, did not materialize because he missed his plane. He said another meeting was scheduled for 2:00 p.m. on April 16, 1965, in Washington. He would meet with (LE ROY) COLLINS, Director of Community Relations Service and other Department of Commerce officials. The meeting would be devoted to matters relating to the Alabama boycott and other matters relating to SCLC. RUSTIN agreed to accompany [redacted] to Washington to attend the meeting.

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NY T-39
April 16, 1965

On April 16, 1965, HARRY WACHTEL and CLARENCE JONES were in contact and WACHTEL advised JONES that [redacted] and BAYARD RUSTIN were going to Washington, and, as a result, "we have no meeting."

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NY T-49
April 16, 1965

HARRY WACHTEL and BAYARD RUSTIN were in contact on April 16, 1965, and WACHTEL informed RUSTIN that he was sending him a copy of "KING's Bar Association talk" and wanted him to analyse and criticize it since he did not think KING would.

WACHTEL, in commenting on RUSTIN's trip to Washington, inquired if he knew what to do there. RUSTIN answered affirmatively. WACHTEL said [redacted] had informed him that everyone wanted to go ahead with the boycott and that KING was the only opponent.

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NY T-39
April 16, 1965

NY 100-153735

A list of the bulk mailing orders of the Winter, 1965, issue of "Freedomways" magazine, which is the first quarter issue for 1965, included 25 copies for SCLC. This issue is a special memorial issue devoted to W.E.B. DU BOIS.

NY T- 50
April 4, 1965

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. informed CLARENCE JONES, on May 2, 1965, that he had not used the speech material prepared by STANLEY LEVISON and brought to him by LEVISON at his speech in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on May 1, 1965, because he had not had time to look over the speech before going on stage.

Later LEVISON was again in contact with JONES who said he had spoken to KING. JONES stated that KING advised the first chance he can meet would be the nights of May 10 and 11, 1965 in Atlanta. LEVISON advised he could make it and JONES stated all that remained was to confirm the date with KING. JONES further advised LEVISON that KING had placed top priority on a plan to find someone who could be what amounts to an Executive Vice President. KING had informed JONES that if he knew of anyone qualified he could hire him. LEVISON stated he was glad KING felt this way and that they would discuss it. LEVISON stated he would like to suggest [redacted] of the United Negro College Fund. JONES remarked that he doubted [redacted] will be willing to go to Atlanta.

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LEVISON stated that they had to find someone who would work well with JONES and for this reason it was important that he and JONES find someone for this position. JONES commented that the problem is that there is a break-down because there is nobody to take charge of things. LEVISON then added "in a certain sense it is what I do in New York in the New York Office. I never have any problems in connection with it because I make the

NY 100-153735

decisions and then [] [] of the New York SCLC office) just goes ahead and does it and that is what he needs in Atlanta on a larger scale."

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NY T- 51
May -2, 1965

On May 9, 1965, a conference of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. and his advisors, including [], HARRY WACHTEL and BAYARD RUSTIN took place. According to the source, the following transpired:

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It was agreed that KING would decline the invitation to attend the rally at Madison Square Garden, June 8, 1965, to be held under the auspices of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE). His reason for declining would be attributed to pressing needs in Alabama with regard to the voting rights bill.

WACHTEL mentioned the fact that the Hammermill Paper Company was having its annual meeting in Erie, Pennsylvania, on May 11, 1965, and that there was a movement underway to have sit-ins to protest segregated policies of the company in its Alabama mills.

A discussion was had concerning KING's trip to New York on May 12, 1965. All of those attending the conference agreed to meet him. The purpose of the meeting would be to go over plans for a summer project.

KING's purpose in coming to New York was to speak in Long Island at Queens College. WACHTEL advised that he would handle all arrangements in connection with his visit to Long Island. He also said he wanted to introduce KING to some millionaires on the island.

NY T-39
May -5, 1965

NY 100-153735

On May 12, 1965, Special Agents (SAs) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) observed MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. and [redacted] and a man believed to be ROSEA WILLIAMS (Project Director of SCLC) arrive aboard Eastern Airlines, Kennedy Airport, New York, New York. They were met by HARRY WACHTEL, BAYARD RUSTIN and JOHN LEWIS (Director of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) (SNCC) and numerous newsmen. Following an exchange of greetings, KING, WACHTEL and WILLIAMS left the airport in a rented Cadillac limousine.

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On May 12, 1965, a meeting took place in MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.'s suite at the Sheraton-Atlantic Hotel, 34th Street and Broadway, New York, New York. According to the source, the meeting was devoted to issues pertaining to the Summer Community Organization and Political Education (SCOPE) and was attended by BAYARD RUSTIN, [redacted] and JOHN LEWIS. The following were believed to have attended:

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ROSEA WILLIAMS

[redacted]

[redacted]

(Former Executive Director of SCLC)
(Director of Racial Matters of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)

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[redacted]

The question of recruitment of personnel for SCOPE was afforded important attention. It was stated that in the New York area alone a quota of 500 college students exists and that only one-fifth of the quota had been reached and that problems were expected in reaching the quota.

NY 100-153735

Budgetary matters in connection with the New York SCOPE project were discussed. It was stated that \$75,000.00 had been set aside for the New York area and the national budget was \$480,000.00.

It was agreed by all those in attendance that the recruitment campaign must have immediate action and that the National Council of Churches and other leaders with whom they have contacts be approached for the purpose of getting them to issue a statement backing the SCOPE summer campaign. BAYARD RUSTIN suggested that he and [redacted] take over the joint directorship of the SCOPE campaign in the New York area. His suggestion was accepted. RUSTIN then advised that all decisions would cross his desk in New York and that he would deal with HOSEA WILLIAMS, in Atlanta, who was in charge of the overall program of SCOPE. With regard to fund raising, RUSTIN said he had in mind a Womens Committee which would probably be headed by such a person as [redacted] (Northern member of the SCLC, Board of Directors).

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NY T-52
May 12, 1965

On May 13, 1965, Lieutenant [redacted], Nassau County Police Department, Long Island, New York, advised on May 12, 1965, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. accompanied by HARRY WACHTEL and others, went on a tour of Long Island towns and apparently observed slum conditions. [redacted] further advised that KING, RUSTIN, WACHTEL and JOHN LEWIS appeared at a voting rights rally in the Long Island area, West Hempstead, Long Island.

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NY 100-153735

On the morning of May 13, 1965, STANLEY LEVISON made a visit to MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.'s suite at the Sheraton-Atlantic Hotel. LEVISON conversed with CLARENCE JONES, [redacted] and [redacted] about several items, specifically, the voter registration, Vietnam and peace, and the civil rights movement in general.

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NY T-39
May 13, 1965

On the night of May 13, 1965, STANLEY LEVISON and CLARENCE JONES were in contact. LEVISON said he would summarize the business of reorganization (probably of SCLC) in a short memo and send it to JONES for forward to him. LEVISON said he felt good that so much had gotten across on SCOPE, the need to limit it and the fact that KING was responsive to it.

NY T-51
May 13, 1965

On May 5, 1965, CLARENCE JONES was in contact with DORA MC DONALD, Secretary to MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. JONES inquired if MC DONALD had sent the preface for "Three Lives in Mississippi" and MC DONALD stated she had forwarded it that afternoon to [redacted].

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NY T-49
May 5, 1965

[redacted] is a publication representative in connection with "Three Lives in Mississippi", the name of a book by WILLIAM BRADFORD HUIE, dealing with the case of the three civil rights workers who were slain in Mississippi in the Summer of 1964.

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On May 5, 1965, STANLEY LEVISON was in contact with CLARENCE JONES and mentioned to JONES that the "New York Herald Tribune", a daily newspaper of New York City, was writing articles on the financial support of civil rights groups. He noted that RALPH

NY 100-153735

ABERNATHY, Treasurer of SCLC, had been contacted. LEVISON was concerned that ABERNATHY would "shoot off his mouth." He advised that this was a delicate matter, how much support from whites, how much from Negroes, and ABERNATHY may mention big name contributors which people would resent. He advised that this should be indicated to ABERNATHY.

NY T-49
May 5, 1965

On May 21, 1965, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. contacted CLARENCE JONES about a meeting to be held on May 28, 1965. KING indicated he would like STANLEY LEVISON to be present at the meeting. JONES contacted HARRY WACHTEL and advised him that KING wanted a meeting of the Research Committee on May 28, 1965. JONES suggested to WACHTEL that a luncheon meeting of himself, LEVISON, WACHTEL, and BAYARD RUSTIN be arranged.

LEVISON contacted JONES and advised a meeting would be held in WACHTEL's office. JONES advised LEVISON that KING had the impression that JONES did not want such a meeting held. JONES told KING that he (JONES) was misunderstood and he felt it was important to hold a discussion because LEVISON could make a valuable contribution. LEVISON commented that WACHTEL would be the real stumbling block even more so than RUSTIN. JONES agreed. JONES stated that WACHTEL was evasive about the date of the meeting and that when it was finally decided upon he (JONES) volunteered to call RUSTIN, but WACHTEL quickly advised that he would take care of it. LEVISON remarked that this confirmed his personal feelings adding that he feels that RUSTIN is fairly indifferent, but that WACHTEL "is actively opposed to me...because you are troublesome yourself for what he wants his position to be but when you add me, it does something to him and he is going to fight whereas RUSTIN won't."

NY T-39
May 21, 1965

NY 100-153735

On May 23, 1965, HARRY WACHTEL and BAYARD RUSTIN were in contact and discussed a meeting of the Research Committee on May 28, 1965, and a meeting in Virginia on June 10, 1965. In regard to the first meeting, RUSTIN and WACHTEL discussed whether STANLEY LEVISON should be invited. They agreed that he should not attend and discussed whether LEVISON should go to the Virginia meeting. They agreed there should be a preliminary discussion before making a decision. Both WACHTEL and RUSTIN stated they would attend the Virginia meeting.

NY T-51
May 23, 1965

STANLEY LEVISON was in contact with CLARENCE JONES on May 28, 1965. LEVISON desired to see MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. about hiring one [redacted] for the SCLC staff. LEVISON was convinced [redacted] could do an exceptional job, especially among the white churches. JONES commented that he was impressed with [redacted] and he would advise the Research Committee that LEVISON felt [redacted] would be good for SCLC.

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NY T-49
May 28, 1965

On May 29, 1965, CLARENCE JONES commented that a meeting of SCLC Research Committee had been held on May 28, 1965. JONES told STANLEY LEVISON, MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. had given permission to JONES to hire [redacted] for SCLC. JONES told LEVISON that it was agreed at the meeting to reduce the number of people and narrow the geographical size of SCOPE. JONES told LEVISON the meeting further discussed KING's upcoming vacation and the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

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NY T-51
May 29, 1965

NY 100-153735

On May 29, 1965, CLARENCE JONES and STANLEY LEVISON were in contact. The principal reason for the contact was to arrange a time when they could meet to discuss the meeting of SCLC scheduled for June 9-11, 1965, in Warrenton, Virginia. They made an appointment for 3:00 p.m. on June 2, 1965, at JONES' office, 165 Broadway, New York, New York.

NY T-49
May 29, 1965

On June 2, 1965, at 3:07 p.m., SAS of the FBI observed STANLEY LEVISON enter the building at 165 Broadway, New York City. CLARENCE JONES had been observed entering the building at 1:40 p.m.

On June 3, 1965, HARRY BELEFONTE told CLARENCE JONES that SCLC owed him \$5,000.00 from the Selma March and he would like JONES to get \$1,000.00 of it to FANNY LOUHAYMEN (probably FANNY LOUHAMMER) at 626 East La Foyette Street, Louisville, Kentucky. JONES agreed to do this.

NY T-51
June 3, 1965

On June 8-11, 1965, a meeting of the leaders and advisors of the SCLC would be held in Warrenton, Virginia.

NY T-51
May 21, 1965

On June 8, 1965, STANLEY LEVISON was in contact with CLARENCE JONES, Secretary. LEVISON instructed her to make airline reservations for himself, JONES and [redacted] for June 9, 1965.

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NY T-49
June 8, 1965

NY 100-153735

On June 9, 1965, at 5:48 p.m., SAS of the FBI observed BAYARD RUSTIN, STANLEY LEVISON, CLARENCE JONES and an unidentified woman board the 6:00 p.m. Eastern Airlines Flight bound from La Guardia Airport, New York City to National Airport, Washington, D.C.

CLARENCE JONES and an unknown male had contact on June 12, 1965. The contact was in regard to a three day conference of SCLC Advisors Committee and Board which took place at Warrenton, Virginia, June 8-11, 1965. JONES stated the conference discussion centered around the moving of SCLC operations North, specifically to New York and Chicago. The purpose for moving North, according to JONES, would be to make gains in housing, schools and other basic needs.

JONES explained his position and stated that he told those in attendance it would be a mistake to conduct non-violent campaigns and demonstrations of school desegregation in the North since there were more important issues. He advised them that if they were to move North, a lot of militant support for the Southern movement would be cut off by the people in the North. The power structure in the North would not look kindly on SCLC if demonstrations were brought north.

NY T- 51
June 12, 1965

NY 100 - 153735

APPENDIX
GLOSSARY OF INDIVIDUALS

NY 100-153735

[REDACTED]

On June 12, 1964, [REDACTED] attended a Kings County, CP, USA Council meeting which was held at 1110 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, New York.

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NY T-17
June 18, 1963

[REDACTED]

A CP, USA meeting was held on Staten Island, New York, on February 24, 1963. A discussion was held as to whether another group should be brought into the CP group having the meeting. One of the members objected to the inclusion of [REDACTED], [REDACTED] a CP, USA member present, stated, "Well, we can't forget [REDACTED] is Chairman of the Party on Stated Island, and is recognized as such".

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NY T-18
February 25, 1963

HERBERT APTHEKER

On December 13, 1959, HERBERT APTHEKER was elected to the National Committee of CP, USA, at its 17th National Convention held December 10-13, 1959.

NY T-19
December 13, 1959

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED], as of June, 1965, was a member of the CP, USA.

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NY T-1
June 14, 1965

NY 100-153735

PHILIP BART

On December 13, 1959, PHIL BART was elected to the National Committee of the CP, USA at its 17th National Convention, held December 10-13, 1959.

NY T-19
December 13, 1959

On March 28, 1965, an announcement was made at a meeting of the State Committee of the CP of Ohio that BART was replacing ANTHONY KRCHMAREK as Chairman of the District.

NY T-20
March 30, 1965

THEODORE R. BASSETT

THEODORE R. BASSETT is a member of the CP, USA.

NY T-4
March, 1965

Source learned that BASSETT was a member of the New York District School Commission of the CP as of February, 1965.

NY T-4
February 1, 1965

The masthead of "The Worker" of July 4, 1965, lists T. R. BASSETT as a member of its editorial staff.

[redacted]
According to [redacted], Secretary at Communist Party Headquarters, New York City, [redacted] had been a member of the Young Communist League before coming into prominence as an [redacted] b6 b7C

NY T-27
October 28, 1958

The Young Communist League has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

NY 100-153735

[redacted]

[redacted] were present at a meeting of the 17th Assembly District Club, Kings County CP, held in March, 1963, in [redacted], Brooklyn, New York.

b6
b7C

NY T-4
March 14, 1963

[redacted]

[redacted] were in attendance at a meeting of the 17th Assembly District Club, Kings County CP, held January 9, 1963 at 805 St. Marks Avenue, Brooklyn, New York.

b6
b7C

NY T-21
January 11, 1963

[redacted]

[redacted] was in attendance at a meeting of the Flatbush Club of the CP, Brooklyn held on November 13, 1961 at [redacted], [redacted], Brooklyn, New York.

b6
b7C

NY T-22
November 16, 1961

Information was made available to the effect that a meeting of the Flatbush Club, Kings County CP, would be held on the evening of March 4, 1964, at [redacted].

b6
b7C

NY T-23
February 27, 1964

[redacted] was observed among a group of seven individuals seated in the [redacted] at [redacted], Brooklyn, New York.

b6
b7C

Special Agents of the
Federal Bureau of
Investigation
March 4, 1964

NY 100-153735

[redacted]

Source furnished information indicating [redacted] was a member of the North Shore Section of the CP in 1946, in Queens, New York.

b6
b7C

NY T-24
December 30, 1946

On August 4, 1948, [redacted] testified before the House of Representatives, Special Subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor at Washington, D.C. At this time, [redacted] refused to answer when asked if he was then or ever had been a member of the CP. In his testimony, he stated that the CP was helpful to the labor movement in the United States.

b6
b7C

[redacted]

[redacted] was Organizational Secretary, Michigan District CP.

b6
b7C

NY T-25
June 17, 1963

[redacted] is a CP member and attended a meeting of the National Negro Commission, CP, USA, in March, 1965.

b6
b7C

NY T-1
April 1, 1965

[redacted]

In April, 1965, [redacted] was nominated to be a member of the National Committee of the PLP but he declined this position.

b6
b7C

NY T-48
April 19, 1965

NY 100-153735

Doctor W.E.B. DU BOIS

Doctor W.E.B. DU BOIS died in Ghana, Africa, at the age of 96. He joined the CP at the age of 93. His letter of application to the CP, USA, and his acceptance were printed in "The Worker" issue of November 26, 1961.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is a Vice President of PLP and is a member of the PLP National Committee. b6 b7C

NY T-48
April 19, 1965

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] has been publicly identified as a member of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., and former confidant of MALCOLM X. He was arrested by the New York City Police Department on a charge of felonious assault for the shooting at the assassin of MALCOLM X. b6 b7C

EUGENE GORDON, SR.

As of June, 1965, EUGENE GORDON was a member of the CP, USA.

NY T-1
June 14, 1965

JESSE GRAY

JESSE GRAY is a former Organizer of the Harlem Region of the CP, USA.

NY T-4
November 28, 1960

NY 100-153735

"The New York Times" of December 31, 1963, page 30, contained an article on JESSE GRAY wherein he is described as the leader of the Harlem rent strikes and the head of the Community Council for Housing at 6 East 117th Street, New York City. It stated that, after the 1963 rent strike appeared to be gaining ground, anonymous postcards were sent to newspapers charging that he was a Communist. It continues: "Asked about this, Mr. GRAY denied he was a Communist. He said he had been questioned by the House Un-American Activities Committee because he had supported the right of BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, State Chairman of the CP, to run for State Senator in 1958. He denied CP affiliation under oath but took the Fifth Amendment when the Committee asked him to give the names of Communists known to him."

According to WILLIAM PATTERSON, JESSE GRAY is no longer a CP member, but is friendly to the CP.

NY T-4
January 24, 1964

GIL GREEN

As of November 16, 1964, GIL GREEN was a full time paid functionary of the CP, USA, and he is a member of the Secretariat, National Board, and National Committee of the CP, USA.

NY T-26
November 16, 1964

JACOB GREEN

JACOB GREEN is Chairman of the CP of Maryland.

NY T-1
March 25, 1965

NY 100-153735

[redacted]
[redacted], as of June, 1965, was a member of
the CP, USA.

b6
b7C

NY T-1
June 14, 1965

JAMES JACKSON

JAMES JACKSON is a member of the National Committee
of the CP, USA.

NY T-27
October 14, 1964

The masthead of "The Worker", April 6, 1965, lists
JAMES JACKSON as Editor.

[redacted]
[redacted] attended a membership meeting of the
W.E.B. Du Bois Club, Brooklyn, New York, on February 21, 1965.

b6
b7C

NY T-28
February, 1965

ARNOLD S. JOHNSON

"The Worker", September 22, 1964, on page 7,
column 1, described ARNOLD JOHNSON as National Public
Relations Director of the CP, USA.

[redacted]
[redacted], as of June, 1965, was a member
of the CP, USA.

b6
b7C

NY T-1
June 14, 1965

NY 100-153735

CLARENCE JONES

The source identified a photograph of CLARENCE JONES as a person whom he knew during late 1953 or early 1954 to be a member of and in a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League (LYL).

The LYL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450. NY T-55
February 26, 1957

MARTIN LUTHER KINGS, JR.

A CP functionary has described MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., as a confirmed Marxist.

NY T-27
February 12, 1962

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was described, as of April, 1965,
as a CP member.

b6
b7c

NY T-5
April 7, 1965

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was a member of the CP, USA New York District Board as of June, 1965, and is New York County CP Organizer.

b6
b7c

NY T-4
June 14, 1965

NY 100-153735

STANLEY LEVISON

STANLEY LEVISON was a secret member of the Communist Party, USA, in July, 1963. In late 1963 and early 1964, he criticized the CP for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. LEVISON was described by certain CP leaders as being to the "left" of the CP in his position on civil rights. LEVISON's differences with the CP, however, are merely tactical and he continues his ideological adherences to Communism.

NY T-27
April, 1964

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT is Vice Chairman and a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA, and Chairman of the Illinois CP District.

NY T-29
February 15, 1965

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is President of District 65, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, AFL-CIO, 13 Astor Place, New York City.

b6
b7C

On July 6, 1953, [REDACTED] testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in New York City, and refused to answer questions concerning the CP and other group affiliations.

b6
b7C

Sources advised that [REDACTED] had broken with the CP in 1951.

b6
b7C

NY T-30
February 10, 1954

NY T-31
May 15, 1956

NY 100-153735

[REDACTED]

As of June, 1965, [REDACTED] was a member of the CP, USA. b6
b7C

NY T-6
June 3, 1965

MALCOLM X (LITTLE)

MALCOLM X was the founder and President of the Muslim Mosque, Inc. (MMI).

NY T-32
August 16, 1964

MALCOLM X was shot and killed on February 21, 1965.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was a member of the CP, USA as of June, 1965. b6
b7C

NY T-6
March 15, 1965

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was elected a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA at its 17th National Convention held December 10-13, 1959. b6
b7C

NY T-26
December 14, 1959

NY 100-153735

GEORGE MEYERS

GEORGE MEYERS was elected to the National Committee of the CP, USA at its 17th National Convention, held December 10-13, 1959.

NY T-19
December 13, 1959

GEORGE MEYERS is Organizer of the Southern Region of the CP, USA.

NY T-1
March 25, 1965

GEORGE MORRIS

GEORGE MORRIS is a member of the New York District CP Committee.

NY T-4
June 14, 1962

The masthead of "The Worker" of July 18, 1965, lists GEORGE MORRIS as a member of its Editorial Staff.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED], the [REDACTED] of GEORGE MORRIS, member of the Editorial Staff of "The Worker", was present at a meeting of the Brooklyn Youth CP held at [REDACTED] in Brooklyn, New York, on October 23, 1962.

b6
b7c

NY T-33
1962

NY 100-153735

[redacted]
As of October 30, 1953, [redacted] was a member of the Professional Group of the CP, USA, in New Orleans, Louisiana. Some of the meetings of this group were held in [redacted].

b6
b7C

NY T-34
October 30, 1953

[redacted]
Records of the Veterans Administration (VA) Regional Office, New York City, made available to Special Agent [redacted] on February 26, 1954, by [redacted], Supervising Attorney, indicated that [redacted] of [redacted], was born [redacted], at Los Angeles, California. His [redacted] is [redacted].

b6
b7C

Concerning [redacted], the source advised that among checks drawn against the account of the Physicians Forum maintained at the Chemical Bank New York Trust Company, New York City, during February, 1964, was one dated February 21, 1964, in the amount of \$275.00 payable to [redacted], Medical Doctor.

b6
b7C

NY T-35
February, 1964

The source no longer has custody of the check upon which the above information is based and this information is not to be made available except in the usual proceedings involving the issuance of a subpoena duces tecum. The person to be subpoenaed is [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted], New York City. A characterization of the Physicians Forum appears in the Appendix Section.

NY 100-153735

Concerning [redacted], also known as [redacted]
[redacted], the source advised that [redacted] had
been transferred from the Brooklyn Club of the Los Angeles
County CP to New York in April, 1947.

b6
b7C

NY T-36
May 17, 1947

[redacted]

[redacted] as of June, 1965, was a member
of the CP, USA.

b6
b7C

NY T-1
June 14, 1965

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON is Chairman of the New York
District CP.

NY T-4
November 15, 1964

[redacted]

[redacted] was known to the source to be a member
of the CP.

b6
b7C

NY T-58
March 5, 1954

VICTOR PERLO

As of June, 1965, VICTOR PERLO was a member of the
CP, USA.

NY T-1
June 14, 1965

NY 100-153735

PETTIS PERRY

PETTIS PERRY is a member at large of the National Committee of the CP, USA.

NY T-37
February 3, 1965

IRVING POTASH

IRVING POTASH is Organizer of the New Jersey CP.

NY T-27
April 7, 1965

PAUL ROBESON

ESLANDA ROBESON was a CP member in 1945, but she does not hold herself out as a Communist and denies membership in the Party. The source stated that ESLANDA ROBESON was a devoted member of the CP along with her husband, PAUL ROBESON, who is a devoted CP member. BEN DAVIS, who was known to the source at that time as chairman of the Harlem Branch of the CP, and a member of the National Board of the CP and JACK STACHEL, who was known to the source at that time as a National functionary of the CP, were the sources of his information concerning ESLANDA and PAUL ROBESON.

NY T-38
June 29, 1950

The late city edition, "The New York Times", December 23, 1963, reported that PAUL ROBESON left the United States on July 10, 1958, after an eight year legal fight on a Supreme Court ruling to obtain a passport.

NY 100-153735

According to the article, ROBESON once said he loved, "The Soviet people more than any other nation because of their suffering and sacrifice for us, the Negro people, the progressive people, the people of the future in this world". It added that most of the questions directed at ROBESON on his arrival in New York City on December 22, 1963, were answered by his wife, who told reporters that her husband still thinks Communism is "terrific".

BAYARD RUSTIN

In "The Saturday Evening Post", issue of July 11-18, 1964, page 76, BAYARD RUSTIN is the subject of a feature article captioned: "The Lone Wolf of Civil Rights". In it, RUSTIN is said to have come to New York in 1938, as an organizer for the Young Communist League (YCL), and as such, he had the job of recruiting students for the "Party". Furthermore, the article reports that during his first years in New York, RUSTIN gave most of his earnings to the "Party". He reportedly left the "Party" in 1941, the article states.

The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Daily Worker", February 11, 1957, page 1, column 2, reported that BAYARD RUSTIN, Executive Secretary, War Resisters League, was an observer at the 16th National Convention of the CP, USA held in New York City, on February 9-12, 1957.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist publication until it ceased publication on January 13, 1958.

During a meeting of the National Board, CP, USA, on September 25, 1963, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS remarked that, "RUSTIN calls me constantly--openly".

NY T-2
September 25, 1963

NY 100-153735

BAYARD RUSTIN contacted BENJAMIN J. DAVIS on February 19, 20, 1964, and sought his advice as to how he could escape from a speaking engagement to which he was committed. On the latter contact, DAVIS told RUSTIN that he was working on his request and had contacted friends who had contacts with the group to which RUSTIN was to speak.

NY T-39
February, 1964

"The New York Times", August 24, 1964, page 27, column 4, reports that BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, National Secretary CP, USA, died in New York City on the night of August 22, 1964.

[REDACTED]

On July 1, 1961, while attending a CP, USA meeting in Staten Island, New York, [REDACTED], [REDACTED] stated that [REDACTED] goes to CP, USA meetings in New York City. On January 15, 1962, while at a CP, USA meeting in Staten Island, New York, [REDACTED] stated that his [REDACTED] was then a member of the CP, USA.

b6
b7C

NY T-18
July 3, 1961
January 16, 1962

[REDACTED]

On October 4, 1964, [REDACTED] attended a CP, USA meeting which was held at [REDACTED], [REDACTED] New York.

b6
b7C

NY T-18
October 5, 1964

NY 100-153735

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was Chairman of one of the two CP Clubs comprising the 17th Assembly District, Kings County CP, as of March, 1962. b6 b7C

NY T-40
March, 1962

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was a member of the CP, USA as of June, 1965. b6 b7C

NY T-6
June 3, 1965

[REDACTED]

On January 13, 1965, [REDACTED] attended the Eastern Seaboard Conference of "The Worker" held at the Hotel Woodstock, NYC. b6 b7C

NY T-41
February 4, 1965

JACK STACHEL

JACK STACHEL was elected to the National Committee of the CP, USA, at its 17th National Convention held December 10-13, 1959.

NY T-19
December 13, 1959

"The Worker", April 6, 1965, lists JACK STACHEL in its masthead as a member of its editorial staff.

NY 100-153735

[redacted]
[redacted], as of June, 1965, was a member of the 11th A.D. Club of the Harlem Region of the CP. b6 b7C

NY T-5
June 16, 1965

[redacted]
[redacted] was a member of CP, USA New York District Board as of June, 1965, and is District Organizational Secretary. b6 b7C

NY T-4
June 14, 1965

[redacted]
[redacted] is a member of the New York District CP Board and is in charge of New York District CP Youth Activities. b6 b7C

NY T-4
June 14, 1965

[redacted]
[redacted] continues to be a member of the National Negro Commission, CP, USA. b6 b7C

NY T-29
April 8, 1965

[redacted] is an officer of the District Committee, CP, USA, New England District, being in charge of Negro matters and is the acting, unpaid, full-time organizer. b6 b7C

NY T-42
March 12, 1965

NY 100-153735

[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] attended the State Convention of the N.J CP, which was held at the Hotel Princeton, Lakewood, New Jersey, on July 10 and 11, 1948.

NY T-43
July 15, 1948

JAMES TORMEY

JAMES TORMEY was a member of the CP, USA New York District Board as of June, 1965, and is in charge of New York District CP Trade Union activities.

NY T-4
June 14, 1965

[REDACTED]

Since the spring of 1964, until August 1, 1964, [REDACTED], has attended meetings of either the CP Negro Commission, Illinois, CP or the CP Subcommittee on NALC work of the Negro Commission, Illinois CP or both. To the knowledge of informants, [REDACTED] is not assigned to a CP club within the Illinois CP District, but due to the fact that she has been attending these meetings and that she is the [REDACTED] of [REDACTED] Chairman of the Railroad Club, Illinois CP, they consider her to be a current member of the Illinois CP. b6 b7C

NY T-44
NY T-45
August, 1964

NY 100-153735

[redacted]
[redacted] was a member of the Community Section
of the CP in Peoria, Illinois.

b6
b7C

NY T-56
November, 1947

[redacted] had not been active in CP affairs in
the Peoria area for some time, and the source advised he had
not been in the area for a long period of time.

b6
b7C

NY T-56
June 24, 1948

[redacted] of SCLC was in contact with
GEORGE MEYERS of Baltimore, Maryland, and agreed to see MEYERS
on January 14, 1965. The purpose of the meeting was not known.

b6
b7C

NY T-57
January 14, 1965

On May 21, 1956, [redacted], [redacted]
[redacted] Peoria, Illinois, advised that she was married to
[redacted] from 1945 to 1947. She had known him for
several years prior to this marriage and had resided with
him following their separation during 1948 and 1949 and
had last had contact with him in April, 1964. Based upon
this relationship she would describe [redacted]
as always and probably still, in sympathy with the Soviet
Union.

b6
b7C

HARRY WACHTEL

In December, 1949, HARRY H. WACHTEL, 41 Broad
Street, New York, New York, was on a list of individuals
carried as active members of the National Lawyers Guild.

NY T-53
December, 1949

NY 100-153735

A characterization of the National Lawyers Guild is in the Appendix.

The name HARRY WACHTEL was on a list of names, significance not known, which was maintained at the Headquarters of the Kings County CP at 26 Court Street, Brooklyn, New York.

NY T-54
March 5, 1944

Regarding HARRY WACHTEL's [redacted], [redacted], her name and address were on a list of names of newly elected officers of the Bath Beach Club of the Kings County CP.

b6
b7C

NY T-54
March 5, 1944

[redacted]

On October 4, 1964, [redacted] attended a CP, USA meeting which was held at [redacted] New York.

b6
b7C

NY T-18
October 5, 1964

[redacted]

[redacted] is the Organization Secretary of the Illinois CP District.

b6
b7C

NY T-26
April 5, 1964

NY 100-153735

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
CP Board.

[REDACTED] is a member of the New York District ^{b6}
^{b7C}

NY T-4
March 29, 1965

HENRY WINSTON

At a meeting of the National Committee of the CP, USA, on August 12 and 13, 1961, HENRY WINSTON was elected a member of that committee, the National Executive Committee and Vice Chairman of the Party.

NY T-26
August 12, 13, 1961

CARL WINTER

CARL WINTER is a member of the National Committee of the CP, USA and is in charge of trade union work.

NY T-27
July 1, 1965

NY 100 - 153735

APPENDIX
GLOSSARY OF ORGANIZATIONS

1.

APPENDIX

FREEDOMWAYS ASSOCIATES, INCORPORATED

The records of the New York Secretary of State, Albany, New York, show that the certificate of incorporation of Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, was filed on March 2, 1961.

The Spring, 1964, issue of "Freedomways" is self-described as "A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement" published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York City.

On May 24, 1961, a source advised that a report was given on "Freedomways" at a meeting of the National Board, Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), held on May 24, 1961. It was stated that the original plan called for the publication to be openly Marxist, but that it was later decided it would not be avowedly a Marxist publication. Editorials are in the hands of a mixed group of Marxists and non-Marxists. It was stated that the central purpose of "Freedomways" is to develop a theory and positive criticism of currents in the Negro movement, as well as to raise the level of understanding and discussion taking place in Negro life today and to project a socialist and pro-Soviet orientation.

On May 25, 1961, another source advised that "Freedomways" was set up for the CPUSA by JAMES JACKSON, a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

1.

APPENDIX

HARLEM DEFENSE COUNCIL (HDC)

The Harlem Defense Council (HDC) was formed by the Progressive Labor Movement, now known as the Progressive Labor Party, in New York City, as a front organization, with its main objective to get recruits for PLM. As PLM is known to be a very militant type organization, the leaders of PLM hope to use HDC to recruit Negroes and others and gradually orient these people toward the aims and objectives of the PLM.

The HDC was also formed by the PLM to organize Negroes on a block-by-block basis in the Harlem area in New York City, with plans to furnish these people with arms to defend themselves against the police. The foregoing information was furnished to the source by one of the leaders of PLM. b6 b7C

NY T - 59
July 29, 1964

1.

APPENDIX

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on page 20 which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principals." The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become soft in his anti-white feelings and to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

NY-100-153735

2.

APPENDIX

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED

A second confidential source advised on October 20, 1964, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which is also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

1.

APPENDIX

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH THE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, to supersede Guide published on January 2, 1957, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. sets forth the following concerning NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO ABOLISH THE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE.

"Cited as a 'new organization' set up in the summer of 1960, 'to lead and direct the Communist Party's "Operation Abolition" campaign.' 'Seven of the national leaders of this group have been identified as Communists.'

"(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1278 on The Truth About The Film "Operation Abolition," Part 1, October 3, 1961, p.5.)"

1.

APPENDIX

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the National Lawyers Guild:

"National Lawyers Guild

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149.)
- "2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally related September 17, 1950.)
- "3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.'
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

1.APPENDIXORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, MALCOLM X LITTLE, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of MALCOLM X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights," while the initial objective is to "internationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. LITTLE condemned the non-violent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes of education, politics, culture, economics, and social reform.

On August 19, 1964, a confidential source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU are located in MMI headquarters, Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 7th Avenue, New York City.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On April 13, 1965, a second confidential source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and henceforth the organization's true name will be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

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APPENDIX

THE PHYSICIANS FORUM INCORPORATED

Records in the office of the Clerk, New York State Supreme Court, Foley Square, New York, reflect that The Physicians' Forum, Inc., (PF) was issued a Certificate of Incorporation on April 27, 1944, under the laws of the State of New York, to operate as a non-profit, membership organization principally in the United States. The PF, under the name of the New York Physicians' Forum, had been in existence as an unincorporated association since about 1939.

A source, on September 13, 1954, furnished a folder of PF entitled "What is the Physicians' Forum?" which stated in part that to maintain freedom of thought and expression in medicine, the Forum opposes the imposition of "loyalty oaths" as a prerequisite for licensure, for hospital appointments or privileges, in medical schools, or hospital staffs and against patients; to re-establish the freedom of the medical press, the Forum urges medical society publications to open their volumes to diverse views on controversial subjects; and to provide a forum wherein socially liberal doctors may express their views in opposition to the policies of organized medicine.

The report of the Sub-Committee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Security Laws of the Committee of the Judiciary, United States Senate, 82nd Congress, 1952 on "Subversive Influence in the Educational Process" on page 37 sets out the testimony of BELLA DODD, member of the National Committee of the Communist Party from 1944 to 1948. DODD testified that the PF was established primarily by the Communist Party (CP) and although not all members of the PF were Communists, the "initiative for organizing the PF came from the CP, came from the ninth floor (35 East 12th Street, New York City), where the National Committee of the CP existed."

On April 24, 1963, the above source advised that the PF is opposed to the resumption of nuclear testing and is against compulsory membership for physicians in the American Medical Association (AMA). It continues to be active in a program of supporting legislation which would provide medical care for the recipients of Social Security benefits, and provide for Social Security benefits for physicians.

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APPENDIX

THE PHYSICIANS FORUM INCORPORATED

The Physicians' Forum is located at 510 Madison Avenue, New York, New York.

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APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP)
PROGRESSIVE LABOR MOVEMENT (PLM)

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the PLP, formerly known as the PLM, held its first national convention April 15-18, 1965, at New York City, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

"The New York Times," City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as [redacted], New York, President, and [redacted] of New York and MORT SCHEER of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the party until the next convention. b6 b7C

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by [redacted] and Mr. SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line." b6 b7C

The PLP publishes the "Marxist-Leninist Quarterly," a theoretical magazine; "Progressive Labor," a monthly magazine; "Challenge," a New York City newspaper; and "Spark," a west coast newspaper.

The June 1, 1965, issue of "Challenge," page 6, states that, "this paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life- where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level."

The source advised that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 622, 132 Nassau Street, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.

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APPENDIX

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

"The Southern Patriot", a monthly publication, shows that it is published by the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC. (SCEF).

"The Southern Patriot" was cited as an "organ" of the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE (SCHW) by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, on the SCHW, June 12, 1947.

The SCHW was cited as a communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 592, June 16, 1947.

An amendment to the charter of the SCHW changed the name of that organization to the SCEF, and listed its purpose as being to improve the educational cultural standards of the Southern people in accordance with the highest American democratic institutions, traditions, and ideals. The amendment was dated April 26, 1946.

A source advised on March 2, 1961, that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, a Communist Party functionary, stated at a meeting of the Communist Party in Baltimore, Maryland, on February 25, 1961, that the Communist Party is not connected with any progressive movement but indirectly they do have some influence in the SCEF.

A second source, who is familiar with some phases of Communist Party activity in the New Orleans area, advised on June 2, 1964, that during the time the SCHW was in existence, Communist Party (CP) members have not been encouraged to work in the SCEF. The source stated the SCEF is a progressive, liberal organization, which he considers a CP front organization because it has gone along with the Communist Party on certain issues, particularly on the racial question.

On June 2, 1964, the second source advised that in the past he has considered [redacted], the Executive Director of the SCEF, to be a communist, if not an actual Communist Party member, because he followed Communist principles. b6
b7c

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The second source also advised on May 27, 1963, that many people who are officials and members of the SCEF, while liberal in their views, are by no means communists.

1960

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APPENDIX

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY -
NEW YORK LOCAL

A source stated on August 25, 1960, that the New York Local (NYL) of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was founded during 1938 in New York City.

A second confidential source stated on April 8, 1964, that the NYL was affiliated with and followed the aims and purposes of the National SWP.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

July 30, 1965

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Bufile 100-442529
NYfile 100-153735

Title	Communist Influence in Racial Matters
Character	Internal Security - C

Reference is made to the report of
Special Agent John C. Seaton, dated and captioned as above
at New York.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished
reliable information in the past.

NY T-46 with whom there has been insufficient contact
to determine his reliability .

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